

[Mr. Speaker] [24th July 1952]

An adjournment motion must relate to a definite matter of urgent public importance and the matter concerned must involve the administrative responsibility of the Government. I shall allow two or three minutes for the hon. Member to explain how his adjournment motion satisfies the above conditions. Then I will give my ruling."

SRI T. C. NARAYANA NAMBIAR:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, the two political prisoners Messrs. Arakkal Kunhiraman Nambiar and A. V. Chindan have several times requested the Government through the Hon. the Minister for Jails and also through the authorities concerned that at least human treatment should be accorded to them. It is not for any great demands which are not possible of fulfilment by the Government that they are on hunger-strike. They are compelled to resort to hunger-strike as a last resort."

MR. SPEAKER:—"How is it a matter of urgent public importance? If they go on hunger-strike voluntarily, what have the Government to do with it?"

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"The point that my hon. Friend wants to urge is that the Government are responsible for the treatment meted out to the prisoners and that it is as a result of the kind of treatment meted out that they have gone on hunger-strike."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I do not know why the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition smiles after explaining the intention of the Member who has given notice of the adjournment motion. Probably he is under the impression that the motion is out of order."

SRI T. NAGI REDDI:—"Sir, here is a very important matter concerning the people, the Government and this House. Here we have an instance of representations being made to the Government, not once but oftentimes, that political prisoners inside the jails are not treated as political prisoners, and that their representations are not being cared for. Because the prisoners could not do anything else to draw the attention of the public, the Assembly and the Ministers, they went on hunger-strike as a last resort. It is a matter of great public importance to the people outside, the Government and this House. Hence I request that the motion may be allowed."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Hunger-strike does not involve the administrative responsibility of the Government. Hence I rule the motion out of order."

IV.—VOTING ON DEMANDS FOR GRANTS FOR THE YEAR 1952-53—cont.

(1) DEMAND XXIII—HARIJAN UPLIFT—cont.

DR. T. S. SOUNDARAM RAMACHANDRAN:—"அனாதை சபா"
நாயகர் அவர்களே. . . ."

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MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Lady Member knows English. If she speaks in English, quite a large number of Members will understand her. If she speaks in Tamil, those who cannot follow Tamil may ask for translation into English."

SRI T. NAGI REDDI:—"Members who do not know English may ask for Tamil translation. There is also that trouble."

* DR. T. S. SOUNDARAM RAMACHANDRAN:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I wish to say at the very outset that the problem of Harijans and Backward Classes should be tackled in the basic way and not by just giving some scholarships and a few house-sites here and there. It is chiefly an economic problem as well as a social custom. Unless we root out these two things, we can never improve the condition of Harijans and Backward Classes. We all know that most of the Harijans and Backward Classes are landless agricultural labourers. Unless there are fundamental changes or reforms in the land system of our State, I do not think we can think of Harijan Uplift or uplift of the Backward Classes. In the villages, especially in the delta areas, an injustice has been done to the Harijans. How can we improve their condition unless we remove the cause for that injustice? All of us know how evictions are taking place. Landlords are afraid of drastic land reforms. (At this stage, the Deputy Speaker occupied the Chair.) Therefore, they are trying to safeguard their own interests by evicting a large number of Harijan tenants from their lands, especially in the Tanjore district. I would like to request the Government to take immediate steps to rectify the wrong done to these Harijans. Unless we can guarantee to the Harijans the right to live, what is the good of talking about educational, housing and other amenities for them? Therefore, I would like to urge on the Government that they must take immediate steps to safeguard the Harijans from being evicted from their lands and driven out by big landlords here and there. It may be in Tanjore now, but it may spread everywhere in future unless it is prevented.

11-40
a.m.

"Next I come to the question of fixation of minimum wages for agricultural labourers. Hon. Members on both sides of the House know that the so-called Backward Classes like Maravars, Padayachis, Naickers, etc., as well as the Harijans, are mostly agricultural labourers in the rural areas. Unless we give them a living wage, there is no use in tinkering with the problem of their education by giving some scholarships here and there and spending a few lakhs of rupees. So, their existence must be guaranteed to begin with, and they should be given a living wage. I want that at least the minimum wages should be enforced.

"Then, another thing I want to refer to is this. When Gandhiji named the Harijans as such, he wanted that the term 'Harijan' should denote not only those whom we call Scheduled Castes but that all of us should become Harijans, that is, there should be only one class, and that is the 'Harijan' class. I want

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to know how far we have proceeded towards that goal. My quarrel here is not only with the Congress but with all the communal organizations and all my brothers and sisters who deny that fundamental freedom to their own people. For example, amongst the Backward Classes, do they treat each other alike? No. Amongst the Harijans also I know there is the same difficulty. Suppose we dig a well for *Paraiyas*. Then the *Chakkiliyars* won't be allowed to take water from it. Similarly, suppose we dig a well for *Kuravars*. Then the *Pallars* won't be allowed to take water from it. So, first of all, we have to root out the difference that exists between class and class not only among the so-called high castes but also among the Backward Classes and among the Harijans themselves. The Backward Classes and the Harijans should themselves come forward to abolish this caste system that prevails amongst them. This can be done effectively in one way. Why should we bring forward proposals to allot some money for supplying drinking water for Harijans alone separately? Why should we have such an allocation? It should be removed and the allotment for supplying drinking water for all communities should come under one heading. If there is any money allotted for supplying drinking water for the Harijans, it might go towards their housing schemes.

“Then, the Government should not dig any well hereafter except for the community which consists of all these different castes. I would even suggest that a drinking water well may be dug preferably in the Harijan area so that if the high caste people want drinking water, they may go to that Harijan area or make their own arrangements for supply of drinking water. If such an insistence is made and also if we educate the people in that way, then I say that this won't be just a dream but would become a reality. My own experience in two villages is that Naickers, Gounders and Harijans have agreed among themselves to have a common well, and in two places these common wells are being dug with the co-operation of all sections of the community. So, if we are firm in this respect, we can achieve our object. I know that the Government are making an attempt in that way. But some of us also should take an interest in this matter and make it a reality that water, air, etc., are the common property, and that there should not be a separate well for each section. The same idea should prevail in the educational field also. I really want to make a request to the Hon. Minister that there should be no Harijan hostels as such hereafter. There must be a uniform policy in this respect. I know even my own Harijan friends might object to it, thinking that they would lose thereby. But I want to tell them that they should not be afraid, and I want to assure them that nothing would be taken away from them. Whether it is the Backward Class or the Harijan Class, we should plan in that way. Now in every place where there are hostels, Harijans and Backward Classes are given preference in a certain proportion or percentage. I have no quarrel with them if they are afraid. What I want is that there must be common hostels. I want to assure the authorities concerned that boys and girls belonging to castes

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other than Harijans and Backward Classes will certainly come to such hostels if they are maintained properly and satisfactorily. So, this will be an inducement to have common hostels. The training of constructive workers is given on casteless basis. We have no dearth of applications simply because we mix Harijans, Backward Classes, Brahmans, Mudaliars, etc., together. Certainly there will not be any dearth of applications if we run such common hostels.

" Now, I would like to plead the cause of one or two special sub-sects like barbers, dhobis and certain other classes. Even amongst the Harijans, there are *Chakkiliyars* and *Kuravars*. Really they should be specially encouraged to come forward to get the facilities of education schemes provided by the Government. It is very difficult to get at them, especially girls, because they are all wage-earners. Therefore, special encouragement should be given to them.

" Then, I do not know whether we should go on increasing the number of hostels and taking away the children from their homes and bringing them up in an artificial way. Why can't we have good schools in the villages? Labour schools are intended only for Harijans and *Kallars*. I would like to suggest that such schools can be increased in number. Then, noon meal is given only to the Harijan children. Really I do not think we should make any difference between Harijan children and Backward Class children because the Backward Class children are also poor and cannot afford to go to schools unless they are given noon meal. Instead of taking away one child from his home and his environments to a hostel and giving him three meals a day, we could very well take three children and give them noon meal. I realize that, when these children are taken away from their homes, they develop a contempt towards their own *cheris* and their own homes and environments. They always want to run away from their own homes in the villages after they finish their education. Noon meals must be supplied by the school authorities; children will then learn to improve their own environments and homes and they will have a better influence in their own homes.

" Then, I come to the question of burning ghats. I feel very sorry for the injustice done to the Harijans in this regard, for I personally know it. But these burning ghats are public places. Just as we insist that there should be only common drinking water wells, is it not time for us to press that there should be only a common cremation ground and burial ground for all castes? I really think that if all the Assembly Members on either side get to work on that basis, then from drinking-water wells to burial or cremation grounds there will be no caste distinction either at the beginning or at the end.

" In conclusion, I want to say that this Harijan question can be solved effectively only if we assure the poor agricultural and landless labourers, living wages. (Interruption by Sri Swavam-prakasam.) On hygienic grounds, drinking water wells should not be near burial grounds.

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"With these few remarks and with a request that this question should be tackled effectively, I conclude my speech."

11-50
a.m.

* SRI K. VINAYAKAM:—"Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the cut motion so ably moved by my hon. Friend Sri V. V. Ramasami. On the face of it, it looks paradoxical that we, who clamour for more grant for the uplift of Harijans and Backward classes, should stand up to support the cut motion to reduce the allotment of Rs. 74 lakhs by Rs. 100. The parliamentary procedure is framed in such a way that to show our dissent, we have got to support the cut motion. So, I join with Mr. V. V. Ramasami and support this cut motion. The social structure, as we find in our country, is such that for generations some sections of the population, by virtue of their birth, have been treated as Depressed Classes unfit to live with others or unfit to be touched by others. Days were such when the Depressed Classes were having an onerous existence. Now thanks to the able services rendered by the Congress organisation led by Mahatma Gandhi, the civil disabilities of the Depressed Classes are no more there, at least in the face of the law. There are my friends who can take up and champion the cause of the Depressed Classes. But I will concentrate a little on the Backward Community. That does not mean that my Friends of the Scheduled Castes should go away with the impression that I do not have any sympathy for them at all. I know there are friends like Mr. Ratnam and Mr. Dasarathan, and, on the other side, Gentlemen like Swami Sahajananda, who can fight ably for the cause of the Depressed Classes. I am now voicing forth the feelings of some of our Backward Community Friends in this House. There are not less than 100 Members of this Assembly coming from the Backward Classes. Whether we are in the Congress ranks, or in the Communist ranks, or in the K.M.P. ranks, or the T.N.T. ranks, or the Commonweal ranks, our grievances are the same. What is the composition of the T.N.T. party? Have the Government analysed the composition of the T.N.T. party or the Commonweal party? They are all mostly backward community men who have been denied proper chances in life. So, we thought of organizing ourselves into political bodies to fight out our issues in the Parliament and in the Assemblies concerned. The preferential treatment that is given to the Scheduled Castes is very little when compared to their wants. We do not grudge their being given so much, but we say that we also should be properly treated as they are treated. If the Government would club us with the Depressed Classes, we would be thankful to them. Mr. Deputy Speaker, the Government will give preferential treatment to the Depressed Classes only for a period of 10 or 15 years. What will happen afterwards? The Depressed Classes, of course, with the benignant blessings of the Government, will come up fully and create a gap in the social structure. Who will fill up that gap or vacuum which will be created by the Depressed Classes? It is only the Backward Communities that will fill up that gap. For us there are no Ambedkars, there are no Gandhis, there are no Swami Sahajanandas, and no sisters like Dr. Soundaram Ramachandran. We are very

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glad that Swami Sahajanda and Dr. Soundaram Ramachandran take up the cause of the Depressed Classes. But who takes up our cause? What is our clamour? We want after all educational facilities to be given to us free. We do not quarrel with the Government for jobs. Jobs we can get by virtue of our merit. We can work our way through for the position of a Secretary or even a Minister in the Cabinet. We do not want any special privileges to be shown to us. But let Government at least give us education free. Education is the basic necessity for which these Backward Classes are clamouring. If the Government give us seats in the colleges, and also other educational facilities which are now being given to the Depressed Classes, we will be more than thankful to them. It has been the periodical experience of mine to go to the different colleges and high schools and request the principals and the management to allot seats here and there for our boys. Our boys, Sir, have been, and are very good at the examinations. In fact last year, it was a Backward Community student who stood first in the Intermediate examination. But that unfortunate student could not secure a seat in the Engineering College. They say that there is a provision for Backward Community students, viz., 25 per cent of the total seats. They say 'if you are quite efficient and if you stand the test of efficiency along with others, you will be treated along with other applicants coming under the 'efficiency category.' What actually happens now in the colleges is this—it has been my painful experience—all applications from the Backward Communities are tagged together, and they are considered with reference to the 25 per cent group allotted to the Backward Communities. On the other hand, my claim is that when applications are considered on the basis of efficiency, the applications from the Backward Community students also must be considered in the efficiency category. If our boys then, are able to sneak through some seats, it will be their good luck. Why should the Government bar us from the 60 per cent efficiency group?"

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"Sir, there is no question about it at all. These people are entitled normally on merits to take their places and their chances. Over and above that, this reservation is allotted to them."

* SRI K. VINAYAKAM:—"I knew, Sir, the Hon. the Chief Minister is a good man. He is an honourable man with a very good heart and a broad outlook. He is not aware of what happened last year. Let him please refer to the records, and then if it is found that I am in the wrong, I am prepared to withdraw what I said in this House."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"Sir, I only want one concession from the hon. Member. Let us not go to last year. In this year, after everything has been done, if any error is brought to my notice, I shall see that it is rectified."

* SRI K. VINAYAKAM:—"I am thankful to the Hon. the Chief Minister for the assurance he has given in the open House."

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In fact we were thinking of approaching him either to-morrow or the day after with a memorandum on this subject. We will now abstain from giving that trouble to him.

"Sir, Article 340 of our Constitution definitely lays down that the President of the Indian Union has the power to appoint a committee to go into the question of the Backward Classes and to see whether any steps can be taken to ameliorate their conditions. It is now four years since the Constitution came into force. Still the President has not thought it desirable or at least proper to constitute a Commission. We request the President through the Madras Government to constitute that Commission as early as possible.

"I have one more point to submit to the House. Members on the other side as well as the Cabinet are always terribly afraid of the Communists as a bull dreads the very sight of a red rag. They think that these Communists thrive on misery. It is a fact. Wherever there is misery, my red shirt friends catch hold of that situation. I do not object to their tactics, because they are right. The Congress has failed to help the people out of their misery. The very basis of the Congress creed is to root out misery, to root out illiteracy, and to root out inequality of incomes. The Congress has not tackled all these problems. Now there is an impression gaining ground in our country that the Congress organization is only supporting the capitalists and that it is for *laissez faire* and not for any change in the country. That is the reason why the Communist friends are getting popular in the country. The Government want to put them down. I say it is impossible. The Government should tackle the problem at its very root. There is discontent among us. We are University men, and our parents have spent their fortunes upon us to make us graduates. You know, Sir, that it is terrible experience for poor people to sell their lands and fortunes only to see their boys one day occupying good positions in life. I was found to be unfit for the post of a clerk by the Public Service Commission. I thank the Public Service Commission for having chucked me out. Otherwise I would not have been here as a Member of this House. It is not that I was expecting to become a clerk in a Collectorate or some other office. That is not the point. I only wish to point out that there was nepotism, and the backward communities were not properly treated. We were clubbed together with the class called Non-Brahmins who enjoyed priority. We had to depend on the Selection Boards and on those in authority with the result that not even a few positions are now being held by the Backward Community people. The Hon. the Chief Minister may verify my statistics. We are not occupying big positions like Collectors, Deputy Superintendents of Police or Deputy Collectors. We are not found fit to be even Inspectors of Police. Does that show that we are below the standard? The Hon. the Chief Minister, I know, will never give a categorical reply to that effect. We are found fit in all aspects, but still for want of godfathers we are now struggling. If you want to root out Communism from the land the only way is to keep us contented."

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* SRI T. V. SANNASI :—“கனம் உதவி சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே, இந்த மான்யத்தை நான் மனப்பூர்வமாக ஆதரிக்கின்றனென்றால், குறித்த மான்யம், குறித்த சமூகத்திற்கு, குறித்த காலத்திற்குள் கூடுமானவரையில் நல்ல பயனைத்தரும் என்கிற நிறைந்த நம்பிக்கைபோடு ஆதரிக்கின்றேன்.

“ஒரு விஷயமென்னவென்றால், சுதந்திரம் பெற்ற இந்த நாட்டுக்கு அவமானிச் சின்னமாக ஐந்திலொரு பங்கு மக்கள் இருந்து கொண்டு, அதற்குப் பிரதிநிதிகளாக சுமார் 60 எண்ணிக்கைக்கு மேற்காண்டவர்கள் இருந்து கொண்டு, ‘எங்கள் கோரிக்கைக்கு நீங்கள் திருவருள் புரிய வேண்டும். எங்களுக்குக் கல்வி இல்லை, குளம் இல்லை, பள்ளிகள் இல்லை, வீடு இல்லை’ என்று கேட்டுக்கொண்டிருப்பதை வெள்ளாட்டா பார்ப்பார்களேயானால் இது மிகவும் கேவலமாகவே தெரியும்.

“இந்த நிலைமையிலுங் கூட ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு சர்வ துறையிலும் ஓரளவு நன்மை கிடைக்கக் கூடச் செய்திருக்கிறோம். உதாரணமாகச் சொல்ல வேண்டுமானால் இந்த சபையில் ஹரிஜன சமூகத்தார் அங்கத்தினர்களாக வருவதற்கும் குறைகளை எடுத்துச் செல்வதற்கும் ஒரு சந்தர்ப்பத்தைக் கொடுத்த பெருமையானது யாரைச்சேருமென்றால், அது காங்கிரஸ் கட்சியைத்தான் சரும் என்பதை வாழ்க்கையில் ஒன்றிபிணை காலத்திலாவது உண்மையைப் பேசக்கூடிய எவரும் ஒப்புக்கொண்டுதான் ஆகவேண்டும்.

“ஜில்லாவாரியாக உள்ள வெல்பேர் ஆபீஸ்களைப் பற்றி அடுத்த டிபார்ட்மெண்டில் இருக்கக்கூடியவர்கள் என்ன சொல்கிறார்களென்றால், ‘ஒய்வு எடுத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டுமானால் ஹரிஜன் வெல்பேர் டிபார்ட்மெண்டுக்குப் போகலாம்’ என்று கிளார்க்குகள் சொல்லக்கூடிய குல்கள் இருக்கின்றனவே அது காதில் விழும்போது, இந்த நாட்டில் இந்த சமூகத்திற்கு அரசாங்கம் என்னென்னவோ செய்திருந்தும் பயனில்லாமல் போகின்றனவேயென்று வருத்தப்படும்படியான நிலைமை தான் ஏற்படுகிறது.

“இம்மாதிரியான குறைகளெல்லாம் நமது மதிப்பிற்குரிய கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் முதலமைச்சராக இருக்கும் இந்தக் காலத்தில் பெரும் பாகம் விலகும் என்ற நம்பிக்கையானது, எல்லோருக்கும் இருக்கிற தென்பதை தெரிவித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“உதாரணமாக 10 வருஷ சலுகை என்று சொல்லப்படுகிறதே, அந்தச் சலுகைக்கு எடுத்துக்காட்டாக இந்தச் சமூகம் முன்னேற்றம் அடைந்து விட்டதாக பல அறிஞர்கள் கூறுகிறார்கள். எதை அதற்கு உபமானமாகக் கூறுகிறார்களென்றால், அகில இந்தியாவுக்கும், சட்டத்தை வகுத்த கனம் ஸ்ரீ அம்பேத்காரின் உயர்ந்த நிலைமையையும் இந்தச் சபைக்கு அதிகமாக இருக்கக்கூடிய எனது குலத் தலைவர் கனம் ஸ்ரீ சிவசுண்ண முகம் பிள்ளை அவர்களுடைய உயர்வையும் எடுத்துக்காட்டி இந்தச் சமூகமே முன்னேற்றமடைந்துவிட்டதாக அவர்கள் உண்மையை அறிந்து சொல்லி யிருக்க மாட்டார்கள் ; ஆனால் அறிமாத மக்களை ஏமாற்றிவதற்குத் தான் சொல்லியிருப்பார்கள் என்பது என் அபிப்பிராயம் (சிரிப்பு).

“சட்டத்தின் நுணுக்கங்களைத் தெரிந்து, நீதிக்கு உறவினமாக இருந்து, உயர்ந்த அறிஞராக இருக்கப்பட்ட ஒருவருக்காக ஒதுக்கப்பட்ட ஸ்தானம் இந்தச் சபைத் தலைவரின் ஸ்தானமாகும். ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு ஒரு ஸ்தானம் கொடுக்கவேண்டுமென்று ‘ரிசர்வ்’ செய்து வைக்கப்பட்டதில் இந்த சபைத் தலைவரின் ஸ்தானம். கல்விமானுக்கும் அறிவாளிக்கும் சட்டநிபுணர்க்கு முன்ன ஒதுக்கப்பட்ட இந்த ஸ்தானத்திற்கு ஹரிஜன வகுப்பில் பிறந்த ஒருவர், அவருடைய ஒப்புயர்வற்ற தகுதியின் காரணமாக, தலைவராக அமர்ந்திருக்கிறாயோமிய, அதனால் ஹரிஜனங்களெல்லோருமே முன்னேற்றம் அடைந்து விட்டார்கள் என்பதற்கு இதை எடுத்துக்காட்டாகச் சொல்லமுடியாது. ஹரிஜனங்கள் என்பவர்கள் உயர்வுக்குப் பாத்திர மற்றவர்கள் என்பதை கடவுளும், வேதமும், ஒப்புக்கொண்டுள்ள உண்மை என்பவர்களுக்கு பதில் கொடுக்கும் முறையில் அந்தச் சமூகத்திலும் அறிவாளிகள் உண்டு, அவர்களுக்கும் கல்வி கற்கக்கூடிய வசதியிருந்தால்,

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“உதாரணமாகச் சொல்லுகிறேன், ஆங்கிலேயர்களும் வெட்கத் தகுந்த முறையில் ஆங்கிலத்தில் ஆம் அழகாகப் பேசக்கூடிய வல்லுனர்கள் நம் நாட்டில் இருக்கிறார்கள். இதே ஆங்கிலத்தில் பேசக்கூடிய வல்லுனர்கள் தங்களுடைய பிராந்தியத்தில் தேர்தலில் நிற்கும்போது தாமும் தம்மை ஆதரிப்பவர்களும் ஆங்கிலத்தில் பேசுவார்களானால், கட்டிய டிபாசிட்டுக் கொள்கையைத் திரும்ப வாங்குவார்களா என்பது சந்தேகத்தானா.

“ இந்த நிலைமையில் இந்த இலாகா எத்தனையோ நல்ல காரியங்களைச் செய்ய முன் வந்தாலும் கூட, அரசாங்கம் என்ன நல்ல திட்டத்தைக் கொண்டுவந்து, எவ்வளவு பணத்தை ஒதுக்கிவிடுவார்களோ, அதை மக்களும் அங்கீகரித்தாலும்கூட, நிர்வாக இயந்திரத்திலுள்ள உத்தியோகஸ்தர்கள் இருக்கின்றார்களே அவர்கள் மனம் வைத்தால்தான் ஒரு காரியம் இந்த நாட்டில் ஆக முடிகிறது. ஆனால், சாதாரணமாக அதிகாரிகளே முன்வந்து ஓரளவு செய்திற்றுப்பட்டும்கூட ஹர்ஜனங்களுக்கு வேண்டிய சொள்கரியங்களைச் செய்வதில்லை.

“ இம்மாதிரியாயுள்ள நெருக்கடியான காலத்திலுங்கூட, மாகாண வெல்பேர் டிபார்ட்மெண்டில் இருக்கின்ற தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட வகுப்பில் பிறந்த அதிகாரிகள், தங்களுடைய வகுப்பைச் சேர்ந்தவர்களுக்கு மட்டும் சலுகை காட்டுவதாகவும், தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட இனத்தைச் சேர்ந்த மற்ற பரிவினருக்குப் பெரும்பாதகம் பண்ணுவதாகவும் குறைபாடான குரல் தமிழ் நாட்டில் நிறைந்திருக்கிறது. இந்த அபாயமான நிலைமையை அரசாங்கம் கவனிக்காவிட்டால் இந்த தேசிய அரசாங்கம் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்காக எவ்வளவு தொண்டாற்றிய போதிலுங்கூட, அந்தப் பயனை ஹரிஜன மக்களெல்லோரும் அடைய முடியாதென்பதை அரசாங்கத்திற்கு ஞாபகமூட்டுகின்றேன்.”

[illegible]

24th July 1952] [Sri G. Nageswara Rao]

గురు మాత్రము రైతు కుటుంబములుగా యున్నారు. మిగతా 90 మంది హరిజనులు కేవలము వ్యవసాయ కూలీలుగా కూలిపనిచేసుకొంటూ బాధపడుతున్నారు. అటువంటివారి ప్రభుత్వము కేటాయించిన 74 లక్షల రూపాయలు ఈ విధంగా బాధపడుతున్న సూటికి 90 మంది హరిజన కుటుంబాల అభివృద్ధికి వివిధంగానైనా తోడ్పడుతుందా అంటే లేదనే చెప్పవలసియుంటుంది. ప్రభుత్వము ప్రస్తుతము హరిజనుల విద్యకుగాను కాలిఫర్నియాకుగాను ఖర్చు పెడుతున్నది ఏమాత్రముచాలదు. కనుక ప్రభుత్వము వీరికి కేటాయించిన మొత్తాన్ని కనీసము మూడు రెట్లుగానూ పెంచాలని కోరుచున్నాను. వీరి కాలిజీలలోను, టెక్సికస్ కాలిజీలలోను నీట్లు ఎక్కువ చేసి వీరి విద్యాభివృద్ధికి ఎక్కువ ఆవకాశము కల్పించాలనే కోరుచున్నాను. అంతేకాకుండా వీరికి వైద్యసౌఖ్యములు కూడా ప్రస్తుతం ఏమీ బాగాలేవు. కనుక వీరికి సరైన వైద్యసౌఖ్యములు కూడా ఏర్పాటుచేయవలసిన కోరుచున్నాను. సూటికి 90 మంది వ్యవసాయ కూలీలుగా వుంటున్నటువంటి ఈ హరిజనుల నిజంగా అభివృద్ధి చెందవలసినట్లు, వీరి ఆర్థికస్థితి మెరుగు బాగుపడవలసియుంటుంది. వీరు ఆర్థికంగా బలపడవనాడే వీరియొక్క అంతర్యామిత్వము పోతుంది, వీరికి సమాజములో గౌరవము వర్పడుతుంది. కనుక ప్రభుత్వము వీరియొక్క ఆర్థికాభివృద్ధికి ప్రయత్నించవలసియుంటుంది. అందుచేత ముఖ్యంగా డాక్టరు సౌందరం రామచంద్రాచారి చెప్పినట్లు వీరిందరికి దున్నుకోడానికి ఖామినీచ్చి వ్యవసాయ సంస్కరణలుచేసివచ్చడే, వీరు ఆర్థికంగా బాగుపడుటకు వీలు అవుతుంది. అప్పుడే వీరికి సమాజములో గౌరవము చేపూరుతుంది. అయితే, ప్రస్తుత ప్రభుత్వ విధానము చూస్తే, ఈ ప్రభుత్వము హరిజనులయొక్కయు మరియు హరిజనులలోగే కష్టపడే ఇతరవర్గములయొక్కయు ప్రభుత్వముకాదని చెప్పవలసియుంటుంది. దానికి బదులు, హరిజనులకును, హరిజనులలోగే కష్టపడుచున్న ఇతర వర్గములకును శత్రువులుగా ఉంటున్నటువంటి ఖాస్యాములకు, జమీందార్లకు, గ్రామ పెత్తందార్లకు ఈ ప్రభుత్వము ప్రాతినిధ్యము వహిస్తున్నది. ఈ ఖాస్యాయు విధానాన్ని, జమీందారి విధానాన్ని పూర్తిగా రద్దుచేసి కష్టపడే వీడ వర్గానికి, హరిజనులకు దున్నుకోనేడుకు ప్రభుత్వము ఖామినివ్వడంలేదు. వినాడైతే మనము ఖాస్యాయువిధానాన్ని, జమీందారి విధానాన్ని పూర్తిగా రద్దుచేసి హరిజనులకు దున్నుకోడానికి ఖామినీవ్వగలుగుతూ వినాడే వీరి ఆర్థికస్థితిని బాగుచేయగలుగుతామనీ అప్పుడే, నాగరికతలోగాని, విద్యలోగాని, గౌరవములోగాని వీరు ఇతర కులాలలోనాటు సమానస్థాయిపొందుటకు వీలవుతుందని ప్రభుత్వము గమనించవలసియున్నది. అటుగాక, వీరి నామ మాత్రంగా హరిజనాభివృద్ధి అని, డిప్టీ సరియైన దృక్పథములేకుండా ఇటువంటి 74 లక్షల మొత్తాలు ఎన్ని ఖర్చుచేసిన, నిలిపిన హరిజనాభివృద్ధి కలగదని చెప్పుచున్నాను. ఈనాడు ప్రభుత్వము హరిజనాభివృద్ధి, హరిజనాభివృద్ధి అంటూ కేవలము మొసలి కన్నీళ్లు కారుసూండ్లగాని, హృదయపూర్వకంగా హరిజనాభివృద్ధిచేయాలనే దృష్టి ప్రభుత్వానికి లేదు. ప్రస్తుతము ప్రభుత్వము రెండు నాలుకలతో వ్యవహరిస్తున్నది. ఒక నాలుకతో హరిజనాభివృద్ధి అంటూ, ఇంకొక నాలుకతో హరిజనులను అణచివేయండి అని చెప్పుచున్నది. ఎందు చేతనంటే హరిజనాభివృద్ధికి పాటుపడుతున్నామని చెప్పుకోనేటులువంటి ఈ ప్రభుత్వము ఏ ఖాస్యాయులు, ఏ జమీందారులైతే హరిజనులను నానాబాధలు పెడుతున్నారో, అటువంటి ఖాస్యాయులకు, జమీందారులకు నేడు ప్రాతినిధ్యమువహిస్తూ, వారికి అన్ని విధాల సహాయముచేస్తున్నది. ఈ ఖాస్యాయులు, జమీందార్లు, పెత్తనందార్లు నేడు హరిజనులపట్ల వివిధంగా ప్రవర్తిస్తున్నారని చూచినట్లయితే ఈ ఖాస్యాయుల, పెత్తనందార్లు పోలీసు ఇన్స్పెక్టర్ల సహాయముతో ఈ హరిజనులపైన కేసులు పెడుతూ, అరెస్టుచేస్తూ నానా బాధలు పెడుతున్నారు. ఈ వీడ హరిజన వ్యవసాయకూలీలు కొంచెము ఎక్కువకూలి యివ్వండి అని అడిగితే అణగారొక్కుతున్నారు. ఇంకా

[Sri G. Nageswara Rao]

[24th July 1952]

ఈ హరిజనలయొక్క భావలను, ఇబ్బందులను తెలుసుకోవలసిన ప్రభుత్వానికి వస్తున్న పిటిషన్లను సరిగా పరిశీలించినట్లయితే తెలుస్తుంది. ప్రభుత్వము నిజంగా హరిజనాధిపతి చేయగోరే, హరి-నులమీద నిజమైన కరుణ, ఆధిపత్యము కలిగియుంటే, ప్రభుత్వము ఈ పిటిషన్లను, కేసులను వెంటనే తీసుకొని దీనికి ఎవరు బాధ్యుడో సరియైన విచారణచేయించి అందుకు బాధ్యులైన ఘాస్యాములను, పెత్తనదార్లను శిక్షించవలసి యుండుంది. ఈవిధంగా ప్రభుత్వము చేసినప్పుడే ప్రభుత్వమునకు హరి-నులమీద ప్రేమ ఉన్నదని అనుకోవడానికి వీలుండుంది. కాని ఈ రోజున ప్రభుత్వము చేస్తున్న దేవుంటే హరి-నులకు ఇళ్లస్థలాలు ఇస్తున్నామని చెప్పడమేగాని వారికి స్థలాలు గాగ్గియు చేయడములేదు. స్థలాలు కాంక్ష కోసేవిప్పటికీకూడ వీరికి ఆ స్థలాలు ముట్టడములేదు. కొత్తపేట తాలూకాలో దేవరపల్లి గ్రామంలో ఒక పుంతలో రెండు వందల సంవత్సరముల నుంచి ని-సేస్తున్న హరిజనులను ఇండ్ల స్థలాలనుంచి వెళ్లిపొమ్మని ప్రభుత్వమే చాలా నిర్బంధం చేస్తున్నది. తరువాత 15 సంవత్సరాలుగా, 20 సంవత్సరాలుగా వ్యవసాయకూలీలైన హరిజనులు సాగుచేసుకొంటూయన్న బంజరుభూములను రాజకీయ బాధితులకు ఇచ్చివేస్తున్నది. కొత్తపేట తాలూకా, గంటి గ్రామ హరి-నులు సాగుచేస్తున్నటువంటి బంజరును రాజకీయబాధితునికి ఇచ్చి హరి-నులను ఆరెస్తు చేసారు. ఈ విధంగానే కొప్పట్ల తాలూకా కొందరు గ్రామములో హరిజనులు సాగుచేస్తున్న బంజరు భూములను రాజకీయబాధితునికి ఇచ్చి అక్కడి హరిజనులను ఆరెస్తుచేసింది ప్రభుత్వము. వారిమీద కేసులుకూడా పెట్టింది. అందుచేత ప్రభుత్వము ఒక ప్రక్కన హరిజనాధిపతి అని మాట్లాడుతున్నదంటే, ఇవి కల్లగా కనిపిస్తున్నది. రెండవది హరిజనులు 10 సంవత్సరములుగా, 15 సంవత్సరములుగా సాగుచేస్తున్నటువంటి బంజరు భూములకు వెనాల్గీ వేస్తున్నారు. ఈ వెనాల్గీకూడ 15 రెట్లు, 20 రెట్లు వేస్తున్నారు. ఆ భూములకు ఇప్పటివరకు పట్టాలు ఇవ్వలేదు. ప్రక్కన ఉన్నటువంటి ఘాస్యాములు ఈ భూములను ఆక్రమించుకొంటున్నప్పటికి ఈ హరి-నులకు విచారించే దిక్కులేకుండావున్నది. ఇటువంటి పరిస్థితులలో వీటికి వెనాల్గీలు వేస్తున్నారంటే చాలా విచారకరంగా ఉన్నది. కనుక ఈ గూములపై వేసిన వెనాల్గీలన్నీ రద్దుచేసి హరిజనులు సాగుచేసుకోవడానికి ప్రభుత్వము బంజరు భూములను ఇవ్వవలసిన కోరుతున్నాను.

“గత 5 సంవత్సరములు జరిగిన రాక్షస పరిపాలనకు హరిజనులే ఎక్కువభాగము గురైనారు. ఘాస్యాములుచేసే ఈ దౌర్జన్య కృత్యానికి హరిజనులు గురికాకుండా ప్రభుత్వము వీరిని రక్షించుటకు విమోచిము ప్రయత్నించడంలేదు. అంతేకాదు, ఈ దౌర్జన్య విధానానికి ఈ ప్రభుత్వమే దోహదము చేస్తున్నది. ఉదాహరణకు రాజోలు తాలూకాలో కాంగ్రెసు పెద్దలు అనుకొనేటటువంటి కళా వెంకటరావు, రుద్రరాజు రామలింగరాజు, కనుమూరి సత్యన్నారాయణ రాజు, ముప్పర్తి వెంకటరత్నము నర్సాపురము తాలూకాలో అల్లూరి సత్యం వీరింతా రెండీలచేత, పోలీసులచేత హరిజన నాయకులను నానా బాధలుపెట్టించి వారిని కాల్చించారు. ఈ విషయంలో కళా వెంకటరావు, రామలింగరాజు, అల్లూరి సత్యము మొదలైనవారిందరి ప్రజలెవరు గుండా విచారణజరవాలని ఈ రోజున హరిజనులంతా కోరుతున్నారు. ప్రభుత్వము యీ విచారణ జరిపిస్తుందా? అని నేను అడుగుతున్నాను. కనుక ఈ విషయాలన్నీ సరిగా పరిశీలించి విచారణచేయవలసిన నేను కోరుతున్నాను. పోనీ, ఇప్పుడు రాజాజీ ప్రభుత్వము వచ్చినతరువాతకూడ కొన్ని సంఘటనలు జరిగినాయి. రాజోలు తాలూకా, అంతర్వేదివారంలో ఒక హరిజన వ్యవసాయకూలీ నాయకుడ్ని రుద్రరాజు రామలింగరాజు తన రెండీలచేత ప్రమాదకరంగా కొట్టించాడు. ఎక్కువ కూలి

24th July 1952]

[Sri G. Nageswara Rao]

యిచ్చునని అడుగుతున్న హరిజనులను నానా బాధలు పెడుతున్నారు. ఈ విషయము గురించి నేను ప్రధాన మంత్రికి స్వయంగా ఒక పిలిచనుగూడ ఇచ్చి, దీనిపై పెంట తే చర్చ తీసుకోవలెనని వారిని కోరినాను. కాని, దానిని గురించి ఇంతవరకు ఏమీ ఎఫ్ ట్రైబీ చేయలేదు. రాజాజీ ప్రభుత్వములోగూడా హరిజనులకు 20000 ఖాయలు లేకుండా చేస్తున్నారు. భూస్వాములు హరినుల ఇళ్లపక్కలను గుంజుకొంటూ వారిని నానా బాధలు పెడుతున్నారు. కనుక, ఇప్పుడైనా ప్రభుత్వము ఇదివరకు జరిగినటువంటి అన్యాయాలను దృష్టికి తెచ్చుకొని ఇక మీదటనా ఇటువంటి అన్యాయాలు ఏమీ హరిజనులకు జరుగకుండా జాగ్రత్తగా చూడవలెనని కోరుతున్నాను.

“తరువాత హరినుల హక్కుల గురించి ఆలోచించినట్లయితే ఈ రోజు మన రాష్ట్రములో సుమారు 6 వందలవరకు హరిజన హక్కుల ఉన్నాయి. ఈ హరిజన హక్కులను నడుపుతున్న టువంటి మేనేజర్లు హరిజనులే అయినప్పటికినీ వీరు హరిజన విద్యార్థులకుగాను ఇచ్చినటువంటి డబ్బులలో ఏ నాలుగవంతు లేక ఐదవ వంతు మాత్రమే హరిజన విద్యార్థులకు ఖర్చు పెడుతూ తక్కిన డబ్బులతో కాజేస్తున్నారు. ఈవిధంగా హరిజన విద్యార్థులకు ఉపయోగపడకుండా చాలా డబ్బు వృథాగా పోతున్నది. బందరు మొదలగు చోట్ల ప్రభుత్వమే హక్కులను నడుపుతున్నది. ఆవిధంగా ప్రతి హరిజన హక్కులను ప్రభుత్వమే నడిపిస్తూ ఉన్నప్పుడు టువంటి హక్కుల చాలా గనుక కనీసము ఒక్కొక్క తాలూకాకు ఒక్క హక్కులు వొప్పున పెట్టి ఇవ్వి కూడా ప్రభుత్వమే నడిపిస్తే చాలా బాగుంటుందని మనవి చేస్తూ ఉతిటిలో నిలిచిస్తున్నాను.”

* Sri K. ISHWARA:—“Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to support this Demand. In doing so, I wish to bring to the notice of the Government certain points about the Harijan uplift work done in the State. The Government have opened a separate department in the year 1920 to tackle the Harijan problem throughout the Madras State. In the villages, the Harijans are still under the same old conditions and are still considered untouchables. Our Government passed the Removal of Civil Disabilities Act and the Temple Entry Act. I think these Acts are not working properly in the rural areas, especially in my district of South Kanara. In my district, there are three big temples, namely, Udipi Sri Krishna temple, Dharmastihala temple and the Subrahmanya temple. Even to-day these temples are not open to the Harijans. I request the Government to see that these temples are thrown open to the Harijans at once. The Harijans are still suffering from various civil disabilities and the Act passed by the Government to remove these disabilities is not working satisfactorily, in the mufassal areas. Again, in the mufassal areas Harijans are not allowed to enter the hair cutting saloons and hotels. They cannot enter a hotel and take a cup of coffee, nor can they enter saloons for hair-cut. They are still considered untouchables. I request the Government to take necessary action in this matter.

“Coming to my constituency, viz., Puthur General constituency, which is in South Kanara district, I wish to state that it is a very backward area. It is in the Malnad area. It is thickly populated with Harijans and hill tribes. There are only three or

12-20
P.m.

[Sri K. Ishwara] [24th July 1952]

four welfare schools in that area. I request the Government to open more schools in the Puthur taluk. The District Collector of South Kanara has strongly recommended the opening of more schools in my constituency.

“Regarding the assignment of lands, I wish to point out that in my district there are extensive waste lands and forest lands. I request the Government to give more house-sites to the Harijans.

“Sir, there is only one boarding hostel in my constituency, viz., Puthur taluk. The Government have not yet given sufficient grant to this boarding hostel. I request the Government to give more grants to this hostel. With these words, I support this Demand and conclude my speech. Thank you, Sir.”

SRI S. SWAYAMPRAKASAM:—“Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, in supporting the cut motion, I wish to point out to the Government certain imperfections in the working of the funds allotted to Harijan welfare. Whatever amount the Government may spend for a particular purpose, unless the human touch is there, nothing can be achieved. When they say that they are aiming at a Welfare State, they must also see that the amount that they spend on a particular scheme gives full benefit to everybody concerned. In the name of Harijan Welfare, so many schools and hostels are run not by Harijans, but by people belonging to other communities. However sympathetic those people may be, if those institutions are run by Harijans themselves or by people belonging to backward communities the results will be greater. So, I take this opportunity to appeal to the Government to consider this aspect of the question, namely, that these hostels and schools ought to be run by Harijans themselves or by people belonging to the backward communities to enable the people to realize the full benefit of this scheme. I think it will not be out of place for me to mention in this connexion that the starting of such hostels has become a sort of business in certain quarters. I appeal to the Government to go into this question also and see that full benefit is realized from these schemes.

“I want to impress on the Government another matter. At present, a large amount is being spent in a particular locality. I wish to suggest that instead of concentrating on any particular locality, the money should be distributed throughout the State so that people belonging to the different parts of the State may simultaneously get the benefit of this scheme.

“Now coming to the grant of house-sites, I wish to say a few words. On a previous occasion, I mentioned that in Tanjore district even though house-sites had been acquired, houses had not yet been built. Whatever may be the reason, it is high time the Government look into the matter. I wish to point out in this connexion that when agricultural lands are acquired after applying the emergency sections of the Land Acquisition Act, the crops and trees standing on the lands are being destroyed. Ever after taking possession of such lands, they are allowed to remain waste. When crops are spoiled, nobody gets any benefit. If such things take place, they will affect the agricultural classes very greatly.

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When crops that are standing on the lands are destroyed, the Government must pay the agriculturists. Otherwise, they must issue necessary instructions to the concerned authorities and ask them to allow the producers to realize their produce, and then only these lands should be acquired for building houses. At present, even after taking such lands, houses are not built. Specific instances were brought to the notice of the Hon. the Chief Minister yesterday and he was good enough to say that necessary instructions had been issued to allow the producers to realize the profits. I think it is an important question. In so many places in Tanjore district, producers have been similarly affected. In this connexion, I wish to mention the case of a plantain garden which has been acquired. It was about to be destroyed. If the agriculturists are to realize the profit out of the produce from this garden, they will have to wait for six more months.

“Another thing, I wish to point out is that in certain cases, 12-30
in the name of acquisition of lands for house-sites, lands belonging P.m.
to the Harijans themselves are taken away. When we are aiming at giving relief to the poor Harijans, in certain places, Harijans themselves are made to suffer. Lands from Harijans should not be taken away for house-sites unless it becomes absolutely necessary. Instructions to this effect should be issued to the departmental officials concerned so that Harijans, when they happen to possess lands, may not be asked to give them away.

“Next, I would come to the question of treatment of backward communities. I find in the Budget some provision made for scholarships and certain other concessions for the benefit of the backward classes and nothing else, whereas the Harijans enjoy certain other concessions also. Last year a provision of eleven lakhs of rupees was made for the purpose of scholarships, etc., for the backward classes but this year it has dwindled to ten lakhs. When this is so, I do not know how the Government are going to give any relief to the backward communities. As I had said once, the backward communities are the backbone of the country. In certain places, the economic condition of these people is worse than the condition of the Harijans. This fact cannot be denied by anyone who has gone round and seen things for oneself. So, it is up to the Government to realize the present economic plight of the backward communities, make enquiries and give proper relief to them.

“Regarding admissions to colleges in the State, I was saying the other day that the boys in Madras found it very difficult to get admission to colleges. Just now, my hon. Friend, Mr. Vinayagam, was pleading that the 25 per cent of seats allotted for the backward communities should not be strictly adhered to, and that wherever boys and girls could come in by merit they should be given seats from the 60 per cent allotted for the forward communities. The Chief Minister was good enough to say that in addition to throwing open the entire sixty per cent for being filled up on merit, the twenty-five per cent would be a reservation for the backward communities. The point has been clarified thus, and this assurance of the Chief Minister will give some relief.

[Sri S. Swayamprakasam] [24th July 1952]

There is also another suggestion that I would like to make. Where there are vacancies they should be available for being filled up by members belonging to other communities. For instance, if there are vacancies in the quota allotted for the Harijans—15 per cent—they should be filled by members of the backward communities. So also, Harijans may take the seats that may be available from out of the quota reserved for the backward communities—twenty-five per cent.

"The instructions issued last year clearly required not less than twenty-five per cent to be reserved for backward communities. But this year the instructions are that twenty-five per cent should be reserved for the backward communities. The words 'not less than' have been taken away. I have, however, heard from the Hon. the Minister for Education that a press communique will be issued making it clear that Harijans and members of backward classes would independently of the reserved quotas compete on merits for the balance of 60 per cent. I hope this will satisfy many of the hon. Members. I also hope that the vacancies in the two reserved quotas will be filled by members from one of the two classes for whom they are reserved.

"As regards assignment of lands, in reply to an interpellation the other day, the Hon. the Minister for Land Revenue said that if two persons applied for land at the same time—a political sufferer and a Harijan—the land will go to the landless poor person. But this is not the case in Tanjore district. In very many cases, lands in the possession of Harijans and landless poor persons were taken away by resorting to section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code. In many of these cases, I know the lands have been enjoyed by the Harijans and others ever since 1939. These lands have been taken away. So also, members of backward communities also are forced to give away their lands. I would request the Government to look into this matter and do what is necessary for the poor."

* SRI M. DHARMALINGAM:—"Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the cut motion moved by my hon. Friend Mr. Ramaswami Nadar.

"The Hon. Minister has moved for a grant of Rs. 74 lakhs for Harijan Uplift. The most important question before the House is whether the amount demanded by the Government is sufficient or not. As far as my knowledge goes, I feel that the amount demanded by the Government is insufficient. It is not necessary to go into this matter in detail because many of the hon. Members who preceded me have already explained the position clearly. Much of this amount is going to be spent on various other purposes than exclusively on Harijan Uplift work. Therefore, it is impossible for the Government with this small provision to do any good to the Harijans. We know very well that sweets can be prepared only if we have sufficient sugar or jaggery. If we do not possess these in sufficient quantities, we cannot prepare sweets. In the same way, if the Government do not find funds enough for this

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purpose, how will it be possible for them to do any uplift work? In these circumstances, I would request Government to see that the amount is raised at least by some lakhs, if they are really interested in Harijan Uplift.

“Sir, I am glad to express my feeling, which comes straight from my heart, that Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, with the boldest and strongest determination, will justify the confidence we have in his Chief Ministership. Everybody, including myself, says that he is the best administrator and the only well-experienced politician we have after Mahatma Gandhi. Taking up the responsibility of administering the affairs of this State of Madras, at the age of 73, is commendable. We really hope that he will prove worthy of the confidence we have placed in him. Let us wait and see whether he does it or not.

“I am glad to note that each and every Member of this House, though not a Harijan, has pressed the Government to see that all possible facilities are given for Harijan Uplift work. I know that all the Members of the House—excluding the Harijans would have realized the sufferings and difficulties the Harijans are put to, and they have also seen these in person. Hon. Members here would continue to hold the view that Harijans are not looked after if their lot is not improved and if they are not raised to the level of other Caste Hindus and Brahmans. 12-40 p.m.

“Sir, many important suggestions were put forward by many hon. Members who spoke on this Demand. I also want to put forward some important suggestions before the House and the reorganized, repolished and popular Congress Government for their sympathetic consideration and immediate action. In centres where there are high schools, hostels should be opened and Harijan students coming from a distance of five miles and over must be given accommodation in those hostels. Residential scholarships must be granted to Harijan students coming from a distance of three miles, and who are not accommodated in the hostels. Ordinary scholarships must be granted to all Harijan students for the purchase of books and for enabling them to continue their studies without any break. I am glad the Harijan students are already enjoying fee concessions. I would request Government that they should exempt Harijans from paying special fees and admission fees. All Harijan students declared eligible for college course must be admitted in the various colleges without any objection. The managers of the recognized hostels must be directed to take in Harijan students without insisting on the production of a certificate from the Director of Harijan Welfare to prove that they are eligible for the scholarships. With regard to house-sites, some hon. Members already suggested that Government must acquire lands, if poramboke lands were not available, and give those lands to Harijans as house-sites. Because, it is a well-known fact that the cheris are already congested. If the Government are really interested in the removal of congestion in cheris, they must acquire lands and distribute them among Harijans.

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“ It is a known fact that poor Harijans are being prosecuted on false complaints made by influential landlords and zamindars. In such cases I would request Government to provide legal assistance to the poor Harijans for defending themselves. If any Harijan is arrested by the Police on false information or complaint, and if guilt is not proved beyond all reasonable doubt, Government should prosecute the complainant according to law.

“ Sir, it is a known fact that promotions are not given to the Harijans in service according to seniority or according to merit and qualifications. If such cases are brought to the notice of the Government, the Government must take suitable action to enquire into the matter and see that deserving persons are promoted according to seniority. Harijans are not appointed as peons for the simple reason that they are not useful for domestic work. I am astonished to find that such feelings are still existing in the service even after our Hon. the Chief Minister has taken over charge of the Government.

“ School fee concessions are granted to the non-gazetted officers even though they asked for an enhancement in their salaries. We, Harijans, are already enjoying this concession. The concessions now extended to non-gazetted officers do not benefit us in any way. For this reason, I would request the Hon. the Chief Minister, if he is really interested in the welfare of the Harijans, to grant to every Harijan boy a sum of Rs. 50 a year as tuition fee to bring him forward.

“ Sir, the Government have undertaken the task of supplying mid-day meal to boys studying in labour schools. I would request Government to extend that concession to boys studying in Board schools and other schools.”

* SRI AIYANAR :—“மேன்மை தங்கிய உப சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே ! நான் இப்பொழுது கணம் மந்திரி அவர்களால் கோரப்பட்டிருக்கும் மான்யத்தை ஆமோதிப்பதுடன் சில விஷயங்களையும் இங்கே கூற ஆசைப்படுகிறேன்.

“எனக்கு முன்பு பேசிய பல அங்கத்தினர்களும், நண்பர் ஸ்ரீ விநாயகமும், ‘இந்தச் சபையிலே நூறு பேர்கள் பிற்போக்கு இனத்தவர்களின் பிரதிநிதிகள் இருக்கிறோம்’, என்பதாகச் சொன்னார்கள். ஆனால் இந்தச் சபையில் எங்கள் சமூகத்தின் சார்பாக 62 பேர்கள் தான் இருக்கிறோம். மேல் சபையிலே 75 ஸ்தானங்களிலும் ஒரு ஸ்தானத்தில் கூட ஹரிஜனன் இருக்கவில்லை. அதிலிருந்து நாங்கள் எவ்வளவு பிற்போக்கான நிலைமையில் இருக்கிறோம், எவ்வளவு ஆதரவு அற்ற நிலைமையில் இருக்கிறோம் என்பதை எடுத்துச் சொல்ல ஆசைப்படுகிறேன். கணம் விநாயகம் சொன்னார்களே, ‘பிற்போக்கு இனத்தவர்களின் சார்பாக நாங்கள் நூறு பேர்கள் இருக்கிறோம்,’ என்று, அந்த நூறு பேர்களும் இன்று பெரிய வியாபாரியாகவோ, அல்லது பெரிய பணக்காரராகவோ, அல்லது அவரால் அவர் சமூகத்திற்கோ, அல்லது உற்றுர் உறவினருக்கோ அதிகமான நன்மை செய்யக் கூடிய நிலைமையில் செல்வாக்குடனான இருந்து வருவார்கள். ஆனால் இங்கே ஹரிஜனங்களாகிய நாங்கள் 62 பேர்கள் இருக்கிறோம். இந்த 62 பேர்களிலும் அவர்கள் சமூகத்திற்கோ, அவர்களது உற்றுர் உறவினருக்கோ எந்தவிதமான ஒத்தாசையும் கிடையாது. ஒத்தாசை செய்யக் கூடிய அளவில் இவர்கள் யாரும் போதிய வசதியும் வாக்கும் உடையவர்கள் அல்ல. பணக்காரர்களும் அல்ல. இந்த இடத்திலும் அவர்கள் எல்லோரைக் காட்டிலும் மிகவும் பிற்போக்கான

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[Sri Aiyar]

நிலைமையில் தான் இருந்து கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள் என்பதைச் சொல்ல ஆசைப்படுகிறேன். இதை நான் சொல்வதிலிருந்து யாரும் பிற்போக்கு இனத்தவர்களை, முற்போக்கு இனத்தவர்களை போல் நான் எண்ணிக் கொண்டு அவர்களுக்கு எதுவும் செய்யக் கூடாது என்ற காரணத்திற்காகச் சொல்வதாக நினைத்துக் கொள்ளக் கூடாது. அவசியம் அவர்களுக்கும் பல நன்மைகள் செய்யத்தான் வேண்டும். ஆனால் இன்னும் கொஞ்ச நாளைக்கு அவர்களைச் சர்க்காரிலே மிகவும் பிற்போக்கான நிலைமையில் இருக்கிற ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு அதிக உதவியையும், சலுகையையும் தொடர்ந்து சர்க்கார் கொடுத்து வரவேண்டும் என்று எடுத்துச் சொல்லத் தான் விரும்புகிறேன். சர்க்காரும் அப்படியே செய்தும் வரவேண்டும்.

“ அடுத்தபடியாக தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட எங்கள் சமூகத்திலுள்ள பல பிரிவுகளையும் அதாவது பள்ளர், பறையர் இம்மாதிரியான பல பிரிவினரையும், ஒன்றாக ஹரிஜனங்கள் என்று அழைக்கவேண்டுமென்பதாக மஹாத்மா காந்தி அவர்கள் சொன்னார். அதே போல் எங்கள் தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட மக்களுக்கு ஹரிஜன மக்கள் என்றும் பெயர் கொடுத்தார்கள். தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட மக்களிலே பல பிரிவுகள் இருக்கின்றன. எத்தனை பிரிவுகள் இருந்தாலும் அவர்கள் எல்லோரையும் சர்க்காரிலே பொதுவாக ஹரிஜனங்கள் என்று கருதப்பட்டால் போதும் என்றுதான் அந்தப் பெயர் கொடுக்கப்பட்டது. ஆனால் நடைமுறையில் எப்படியிருக்கிறதென்பதைப் பார்க்கவேண்டும். சர்க்காரில் இன்று பல விஷயங்களுக்கு பல பிரிவுகளின் பெயர்களும் குறிப்பிட வேண்டியிருக்கிறது. குறிப்பாக ஸ்காலர்ஷிப் வழங்க வேண்டுமென்றால், அந்த மாணவன் யார்? ஹரிஜனனாக இருந்தால் பள்ளன், பறையன்? எந்த உள் பிரிவைச் சேர்ந்தவன்? என்பதாக பல விஷயங்களைக் குறிப்பிட வேண்டியிருக்கிறது. இவ்வளவு முன்னேற்றமான காலத்திலும் கூட சர்க்கார் இப்படி ஹரிஜன மக்களைப் பிரிவு வந்திவருவதானது சுகாத விஷயமென்று சொல்லிக் கொள்ள ஆசைப்படுகிறேன்.

“ மேலும் ஒவ்வொரு மாதக் கடைசியிலும் ‘ஹரிஜன தினம்’ என்று கொண்டாடப்படவேண்டுமென்றும், அந்த தினத்தன்று ஹரிஜனமக்கள் எல்லோரையும் கூட்டி வைத்து சர்க்காரால் கொண்டுவரப்பட்டிருக்கிற தீண்டாமன ஒழிப்புச்சட்டம், மற்றும் இது போன்ற சட்டங்களை எடுத்து அவர்களுக்குச் சொல்லி அவர்கள் உரிமையை அவர்கள் அடைவதற்கு லாயக்குள்ளவர்களாக ஆக்கத்தக்கமுறையில் பிரச்சனை நடத்த வேண்டுமென்றும் அதைப்பற்றிய ரிப்போர்ட்டையும் பிறகு சர்க்காருக்கு அனுப்ப வேண்டுமென்றும் நம்முடைய சர்க்காரால் ஏற்பாடு செய்யப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. ஆனால் அது வெறும் பெயரளவுக்கு மாதிரி நடைமுறையில் நடக்கிறதே யொழிய உண்மையில் திறமையாக நடத்தப்படுகிறதில்லை. ஆகையால் சர்க்கார் கூடிய சீக்கிரத்தில் ஆங்காங்குள்ள ஒவ்வொரு போலீஸ் இன்ஸ்பெக்டர், மற்ற அரசாங்க அதிகாரிகளைத் தலைவராகவும், காரியதரிசியாகவும் அமைத்து, அதில் ஹரிஜனங்கள் மாதிரிமல்லாமல் மற்ற இதர பெரிய மக்களையும் மெம்பராக சேர்த்துக் கொண்டு ஒரு கமிட்டியை நியமித்து செய்து அந்தக் கமிட்டி ஒவ்வொரு மாதத்திலும் ஒவ்வொரு பிரதேசத்திலும் ஹரிஜன தினம் நடத்தி அதன் ரிப்போர்ட்டை சர்க்காருக்கு அனுப்பவேண்டுமென்ற ஏற்பாடு செய்யவேண்டும். ஏனெனில் இப்பொழுது ஹரிஜனங்கள் சட்டத்தைப்பற்றி எதையும் பூர்ணமாக தெரிந்து கொள்ளாமல் தீவிரமாக ஒரே நாளில் சீர்திருத்தம் எல்லாவற்றையும் செய்துவிடவேண்டுமென்ற உதவேகத்தில் பல காரியங்களைச் செய்துவிட்டு பின்னர் ரோம்பல்வம் சொல்லுவதை கஷ்டத்தை அனுபவிக்கிறார்கள். சர்க்கார் சட்டம் கொண்டு வந்திருக்கிற தென்ற உடனேயே எல்லாவற்றையும் உடனே கொண்டுவரவேண்டும். எல்லா முன்னேற்றமும் ஒரே நாளில் வந்துவிடவேண்டுமென்று எண்ணி விரைகிறார்கள். இவ்வளவு நாளைக அடிமைப்பட்டுக்கிடந்த தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட மக்கள் திடீரென்று நடந்து கொள்ளும் மாதிரியைக் கொண்டு ஆங்காங்குள்ள நிலச்சுவான்தார்களும், ஜாதிலிந்துக்களும் இவர்களுக்கு அதிகமான துன்பம் கொடுக்கிறார்கள். அவர்கள் மனம் சீக்கிரத்தில் மாற்றம் அடைவது என்பது கொஞ்சம் கஷ்டம் தான். ஆகையினால் அவர்களும் கொஞ்சம் கொஞ்சமாக சமூகத்தின் பல தலைவர்களைக் கலந்து கொண்டு ஹரிஜனங்களுக்குத் தீங்கு விளைவதற்கு சர்க்கார் நடக்குத் தண்டனை

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P.m.

[Sri Aiyar]

[24th July 1952]

கொடுப்பார்கள் என்ற விஷயத்தையும் அறிந்து கொண்டு நாளாவட்டத்தில் தங்களை மாற்றிக் கொள்ள கொஞ்சம் சந்தர்ப்பம் கொடுக்கவேண்டும். அதனால்தான் ஹரிஜனங்களை மாத்திரம் இந்தக் கமிட்டியில் மெம்பராக வைத்துக்கொள்வதைவிட மற்ற ஜாதி ஹிந்துக்களையும் மெம்பராக வைத்துக் கொண்டால் இக்கே நடக்கும் விஷயங்களை அவர்களும் தெரிந்து கொண்டு காலத்திற்கு ஏற்றாற்போல் நடந்து கொள்ளவேண்டுமென்பதையும் அவர்கள் உணர்ந்து கொள்வார்கள். அதன்மேல் ஹரிஜன முன்னேற்றமும் மின்னல் வேகத்தில், மின்சார வேகத்தில் அதிகமாக ஏற்படுமென்று நான் எண்ணுகிறேன். ஆகையால் சர்க்கார் நான் சொன்னமாதிரியாக ஒரு கமிட்டியை நியமிக்க வேண்டுமென்பதாக கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“அடுத்தபடியாக பலவிதமான கல்லூரிகள் இந்த மாகாணத்தில் இருக்கின்றன. மெடிகல் கல்லூரி, இன்ஜினியரிங் கல்லூரி, பிரசிடென்சி கல்லூரி, போன்ற இந்தக் கல்லூரிகளுக்கு எல்லாம் மாணவர்களைப் பொருக்கி எடுக்கும் கமிட்டியில் (Selection Committee) ஹரிஜனப் பிரதிநிதிகள் யாரும் நியமிக்கப்படவில்லையென்பதாக நான் நினைக்கிறேன். அந்த செலக்ஷன் கமிட்டியில் நிச்சயமாக ஹரிஜனப் பிரதிநிதிகளையும் மெம்பராக நியமித்தாலொழிய ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு வேண்டிய நன்மையை இவர்களால் செய்யமுடியாது. ஹரிஜன மாணவர்களை பள்ளிக்குப் பொறுச்சி எடுக்கவும் இவர்கள் இருந்தால் தான் நியாயமாக நடக்குமென்பதாக நான் நினைக்கிறேன். அதற்கு வேண்டிய ஏற்பாட்டையும் செய்யவேண்டும்.

“மேலும் இப்பொழுது நகரத்திலுள்ள சேரிகளை சீர்திருத்துவதற்காக நகர கார்ப்பொரேஷன் அதிகாரிகள் தக்க நடவடிக்கை எடுத்துக் கொண்டு வருவதாக அறிகிறேன். சர்க்காரிடம் கூட அவர்கள் 2 கோடி ரூபாய் Slum-improvements க்கென்றே கடன்கேட்டிருக்கிறார்கள். கார்ப்பொரேஷன் அதிகாரிகளே ஹரிஜனங்களின் நன்மைக்காக அதிகப்பணம் செலவிட்டு வருவதால் சர்க்காரும் அதிகமாக நகரங்களில் செலவிடவேண்டியது இல்லை. உயர்தரக் கல்வி விஷயமாக இங்கேயிருக்கிறவர்களுக்கு உதவி செய்ய வேண்டியது மிகவும் அவசியந்தான். இருந்தாலும் அதிகமான பணத்தை ஹரிஜன முன்னேற்றத்திற்காக கிராமங்களில் செலவிட்டால் மிகவும் நலமாக இருக்குமென்று நான் எண்ணுகிறேன்.

“இன்று பார்த்தால் அனேக ஜில்லாக்களிலே ஹரிஜனங்கள் குறைந்தது மூன்றாம் பாரம் வரையிலும் நிச்சயமாகப் படித்து விடுகிறார்கள். ஆனால் அவர்களுக்குப் போதனமுறைப் பள்ளிகளில் இடம் கிடைப்பதில்லை. அதனால் ரொம்பவும் கஷ்டப்படுகிறார்கள். அப்படியே ஒரு சிலருக்கு இடம் கிடைத்தாலும் கூட அவர்கள் இரண்டு வருஷங்கள் படிக்கவேண்டியிருக்கிறது. அதற்காக சர்க்கார் கொடுக்கும் உபகாரப் பணமானது மிகவும் போதாததாக இருக்கிறது. அந்தத் தொகையை வைத்துக் கொண்டு மாத்திரம் இவர்களால் சாப்பிட்டுக் கொண்டு படிக்க முடியவில்லை. அதனால் ஹரிஜன மாணவர்களுக்கு போதன முறைப்பள்ளிகளில் கொடுக்கும் உபகார பணத்தை கொஞ்சம் அதிகமாகக் கொடுக்க பணம் தனியாக ஒதுக்க வேண்டுமென்று நான் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன். மேலும் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கும், டேக்லார்டு கம்யூனிடி மாணவர்களுக்குமாக தனியான போதன முறைப் பள்ளிகளை மூன்று ஜில்லாக்களுக்கு ஒன்றாக ஏற்படுத்த வேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொண்டு என் பேச்சை முடித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

* SRI A. K. SUBBIAH :—“கனம் உதவி சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே, இன்று நடக்கும் ஹரிஜன முன்னேற்ற விவாதத்தில் நண்பர் கனம் ராமசாமி நாடார் கொண்டு வந்த வெட்டுப் பிரேரணையை ஆதரித்து சில வார்த்தைகள் சொல்வதற்கு முன் வருகிறேன். இன்றைய சமூகத்தில் ஹரிஜனங்கள் ஜாதித் துறையிலும், கல்வித் துறையிலும், அரசியல் துறையிலும், இன்னும் மற்ற சில துறைகளிலும் தாழ்ந்த நிலையில் இருக்கிறார்கள் என்பதை சகல அங்கத்தினர்களும் ஒப்புக் கொண்டார்கள். சகல நண்பர்களும் அதைப் பற்றி பேசியிருக்கிறார்கள். குறிப்பாக ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு வீடு கட்டிக்கொடுப்பதற்கு மனக்கட்டுகள் வழங்கப்பட்டு வருகிறது. மூன்று சென்ற நிலத்தை அவர்களுக்குக் கொடுக்கிறார்கள். பரம்பரையாக அவர்கள் வீடு கட்டிக் கொண்டு வேலை செய்து வருபவர்கள். அவர்கள் மிகவும் கஷ்டப்பட்டு ஒரு

24th July 1952]

[Sri A. K. Subbiah]

குடிசையைக் கட்டிக் கொண்டு வசிக்கிறார்கள். அந்த இடத்தை காலி செய்து விட்டு வேறு இடத்தில் வீடு கட்டிக்கொண்டு இரு, என்று சொல்வ தானது அவர்களை மேலும் வீடு கட்டிக்கொள்வதற்கு முடியாத நிலைமையில் கொண்டுபோய் விடுகிறது. அவர்களுக்குக் கொடுக்கப்படும் நிலமானது மூன்று செண்டு தான். அது போதாது. அவர்களுக்கு அதிகப்படியான நிலம் கொடுக்கப்படவேண்டும். அதோடு கூட இப்பொழுது அவர்கள் குடியிருந்து வரும் மனைக்கட்டுகளை அவர்களுக்குக் பட்டா செய்து கொடுக்க வேண்டும். நிலச்சுவாந்தார்களுடைய நிலங்களாகிய வயல் காடுகளில் கிடக்கக் கூடிய இடங்களில் அவர்கள் வீடு கட்டிக்கொண்டு வசிக்கிறார்கள். அந்த மனைக்கட்டால் எந்த நிலச்சுவாந்தார்களுக்கு எவ்விதமான லாபமும் கிடையாது. மிராசதார்களிடமிருந்து அந்த நிலங்களை வாங்கி அவர்களுக்கு பட்டா செய்து கொடுக்கவேண்டும்.

“தஞ்சை ஜில்லாவில் பல இடங்களில் ஹரிஜனங்களை வீட்டை விட்டு காலி 1 p.m. செய்யும்படி பலாத்கார முறையில் மிராசதார்கள் வீட்டைப் பிரிக்கிறார்கள். அதற்கு சர்க்கார் நடவடிக்கை எடுத்து அதை தடுக்க வேண்டும் என்று கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன். சிறுகளத்தூர், நெடும்பலம், தென்பாதி, முதலிய கிராமங்களில் இன்னும் பல நூற்றுக்கணக்கான வீடுகள் பிரிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. அதையெல்லாம் சர்க்கார் கவனத்தில் வைத்துக்கொண்டு, அப்படி பாதிக்கப்பட்ட ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு மீண்டும் அதே இடத்தில் வீடுகள் கட்டிக் கொள்வதற்கு உடனடியாக அனுமதிக்க வேண்டும் என்று கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“ஹரிஜனங்களுடைய மாணவர்கள் படிப்பதற்கு என்று, கல்வி நிதி, ஒதுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. குறிப்பாக ஹரிஜனங்களை எடுத்துக் கொண்டால் அவர்கள் அடிமையாகவே வாழ வேண்டி இருக்கிறது. அந்த நிலைமையில் அவர்களுடைய குழந்தைகளைப் படிக்க வைக்க வேண்டும். அவர்கள் மிகவும் கஷ்டமான நிலையில் இருக்கிறார்கள். எப்படியாவது படிக்க வைத்தாலுங் கூட, படிக்கப்பட்டு மாணவர்களுக்கு வேலை கிடைப்பதும் அரிதாக இருக்கிறது. எங்கங்கே படித்த ஹரிஜன மாணவர்கள் இருக்கிறார்களோ, அவர்களுக்கெல்லாம் உடனடியாக வேலை கொடுக்கவேண்டும். இப்போது ஹாஸ்டல்கள் வைத்து நடத்தப்படுகின்றன. நானும் அதை ஆதரிக்கிறேன். ஆனால் அது நல்ல முறையில் நடத்தப்படவேண்டும்.

“முத்துப்பேட்டை ஹைஸ்கூலில் மாணவர்களுக்கு ஒரு வேளை சாப்பாடு போடப்படுகிறது. அங்கே இன்னும் ஜாதி வெறி தலை விரித்தாடுகிறது. மாணவர்களை க்யூ வரிசையில் நிறுத்தி வைத்து, அந்த நிலைமை ஆசிரியர் பொட்டலங்கள் மூலமாக உணவுகளை விநியோகம் செய்து வருகிறார். அதைத் தடுத்த அவர்களுக்கு நல்ல முறையில் உணவு அளிக்க வேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். திருச்சி ஜில்லா, முகிரி தாலுகாவில், பெற்றோர்களிடம் பணத்தை வசூல் செய்து ஹாஸ்டல் நடத்தக்கிறார்கள். பெற்றோர்கள் ஹாஸ்டலின் கணக்குகளை கேட்டதற்காக ஒரு வாரமாக அந்த மாணவர்களுக்கு சாப்பாடு போடவில்லை என்று கேள்விப்படுகிறேன். இதையும் சர்க்கார் கவனத்தில் வைத்துக்கொள்ள வேண்டும்.

“நேற்று பேசிய நண்பர் முத்துக்குமாரசாமி அவர்கள் தஞ்சையில் ஹிட்லர் ஆட்சி நடக்கிறது என்று தெரிவித்தார். உண்மையாகவே அங்கே அரசாங்கம் நடக்கிறதா என்று பார்க்கவேண்டும். இந்த அரசாங்கத்திற்கு மந்திரிகள் இருக்கிறார்கள். தஞ்சை ஜில்லாவில் நடக்கக் கூடிய அரசாங்கத்திற்கு மந்திரிகள் இல்லை. அங்கே இருக்கக்கூடிய மிராசதார்கள் தான் மந்திரிகள். அங்கே இருக்கக் கூடிய மிராசதார்கள் தான் அரசாங்கம். இந்த முறையில் தஞ்சை ஜில்லா மிகவும் மோசமான நிலைமையில் போய்க் கொண்டிருக்கிறது. உடனடியாக எல்லா வேலைகளையும் விட்டு விட்டு, தஞ்சை ஜில்லாவில் மந்திரிகளுடைய கவனம் செல்ல வேண்டும். யார் தவறுதலாக நடக்கிறார்கள் என்பதை விசாரித்து தக்க நடவடிக்கை எடுத்துக் கொள்ள வேண்டும். அவர்களை தண்டிக்கும் ஆளாகக் வேண்டும். வீட்டை விட்டு வெளியேற்றுவதைத் தடுக்க வேண்டும். அதற்கு உதவியாக ஒரு அவசர சட்டத்தையும் பிரப்பிக்கலாம் என்பது என்னுடைய அபிப்பிராயம். சப்பா மணியம் கமிட்டியின் ரிப்போர்ட்டு வெளி வந்ததின் பிறகு தான் இம்மாதிரி

[Sri A. K. Subbiah]

[24th July 1952]

கொடுமைகளை மிராசுதார்கள் கையாளுகிறார்கள். அரசாங்கம் ஓரளவு நன்மை செய்ய வேண்டும் என்று முன் வந்தாலும் கூட, அதற்கு அவர்கள் முட்டுக்கட்டையாக இருந்து மிராசுதார்கள் இம்மாதிரியான ஒரு நெருக்கடியை ஏற்படுத்தி விடுகிறார்கள். ஏற்கனவே ஒரு ஒப்பந்தம் செய்யப்பட்டது. அந்த ஒப்பந்தத்தின்படி கூலி கேட்டால் மிராசுதார்கள் கொடுக்க மறுக்கிறார்கள். கொடுக்கத்தான் வேண்டும் என்று விவசாயிகள் கேட்பார்களெய்யானால், வேலைக்கு வேண்டாம் என்று வேலையை விட்டு வெளியேற்றி விடுகிறார்கள். உழுகிறவனை நிலத்தை விட்டு வெளியேற்றி விடுகிறார்கள். இம்மாதிரியான பெரிய இடைஞ்சல்களை மிராசுதார்கள் செய்து கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். இதை அரசாங்கம் கவனித்து தகுந்த நடவடிக்கை எடுக்க வேண்டும். மனைக் கட்டிலிருந்தும், நிலத்திலிருந்தும் வெளியேற்றப்படுவதைத் தடுக்க ஒரு அவசர சட்டம் பிறப்பிக்கப்பட வேண்டும் என்று கேட்டுக் கொண்டு என்னுடைய பேச்சை முடித்துக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

DEPUTY SPEAKER:—“The time-limit has been reduced from 10 minutes to 5 minutes and I hope hon. Members will restrict their speeches and try to finish within the time fixed.”

* SRI V. SRUNGARAM:—‘அத்யக்ஷ, நிஜமுகா சரிசனாஹி விகாசாலக்ஷ வாரியைக் குழுவுக்கு அடிக்க முயற்சி எடுக்கிறது. ఈ రోజు సరిజనులనుకు, సుస్థితి చూచినట్లయితే, వారికి మన్నకు సేందుకు ఖాములు లేవు, తినేందుకు తిండిలేదు, కట్టుకు సేందుకు ఇట్టలేదు, చదువుకు సేందుకు డబ్బులేదు, ఈ కష్టాలన్ని తొలగినాడే సరిజనులు నిజంగా అభివృద్ధి కాగలరు. సూజనులు 30, 40 సంవత్సరములనుంచి, మన్నకొంటున్న ఖాములకు ఇంతవరకు కూడా పట్టాలు ఇవ్వలేదు. ఈ నాడు గ్రామాలలో సూజను కరణాల చేతులలో బానిసలుగా ఉన్నారు. మమ్ములను కొందరి M.L.A. లుగా చేసినంత మాత్రాన సూజనులు అభివృద్ధి అవుతారని ఆనాడుకు పోర నాటు. వారు అభివృద్ధి పొందవలసినది, వారికి ప్రత్యేక సదుపాయములు కలుగజేయ వలసియుండును. సూజనులు నివసిస్తున్న గుడిసెలు ఉండేసకాలను ప్రభుత్వము సౌకర్య నము చేసకోకుండా, వారికి కో ఆపరేటివ్ బిల్డింగ్ పద్ధతిన ఇచ్చి కట్టినవలయును. సూజనులు నివసించు ప్రదేశములలో వాళ్ళు త్రవ్వించి వారికి గ్రామస్థితి సౌకర్యములు కలుగజేయవలయును. తరువాత సూజనులకు బడులలో జీతాలు కట్టవలసిన పనిలేదు అన్నారు, చాలా సంతోషము. కాని, ఆలాగే వెనుకబడియున్న క్రైస్తవ సూజను లకుకూడా బడులలో జీతాలులేకుండా చేయవలసిన కోరుతున్నాను. ప్రస్తుతము ప్రభుత్వ బడ్జెటులో సూజనాభివృద్ధికి కొద్ది మొత్తమే కేటాయించారు. ఇది చాలదు. సూజనులకొరకై ఇంకా ఎక్కువ మొత్తాన్ని కేటాయించవలసిన కోరుతున్నాను. తరువాత ఇప్పుడు ప్రభుత్వము సూజనాభివృద్ధి కొరకు కొందరు ఆఫీసర్లను నియమించింది. ఈ ఆఫీసర్ల కొరకై ప్రభుత్వము 5,37,500 రూపాయలు ఖర్చుపెడుతూ ఈ మొత్తాన్ని సూజనాభివృద్ధికి కేటాయించిన మొత్తమునంచే వాడుకొనుచున్నది. ఇప్పటికీ సూజనులకు కేటాయించిన మొత్తము చాలా కొద్దిగా ఉండగా, దానిలోనుంచి మరింత ఈ ఆఫీసర్లకుకూడా ఖర్చుపెట్టుట సుంజుపముకాదు. కనుక ఈ ఆఫీసర్ల యొక్క ఖర్చు అంతయును రివిన్యూ డిపార్టుమెంటు ధరించుపట్టుచేసి వీరికిగాను ప్రస్తుతము సూజను పద్దక్షం ఖర్చుపెట్టుతున్న 5,37,500 రూపాయలు సూజన విజ్ఞాన విద్యాభివృద్ధికి వాడవలయున, దానినుంచి సుమారు 26,70 మంది సూజన పిల్లవాళ్ళు విద్యాభివృద్ధి పొందగలరు. కనుక ఈ విధంగా చేయవలసిన ప్రభుత్వాన్ని కోరుతున్నాను. తరువాత సూజనులు సాగుచేసుకున్నటువంటి బంజురు ఖాములను దొర్లవ్వముతో ఖాస్సాములు ఆక్రమించుకొంటున్నారు. కనుక ఇటువంటి ఆక్రమాలు ఏదీ జరగకుండా చూడవలసిన కోరుతున్నాను. అంతేకాకుండా, బంజేరు ఫిర్యాలులోని ముక్కలత్తూరు గ్రామంలో 1948 వ సం॥ జనవరి నెలలో ప్రారంభించిన చేపభావి ఈ

[Sri T. P. Elumalai]

[24th July 1952]

நினைக்கிறார்கள். சர்க்காரால் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு செய்யப்பட்ட நன்மை என்று அவர்கள் நினைக்கமுடியாத நிலையில் இருக்கிறது. ஆகவே, மகாத்மா காந்தி அவர்கள் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு சேவை செய்யவேண்டும், ஹரிஜனங்களுடைய நிலைமையை உயர்த்தவேண்டுமென்று சொல்லிக் கொண்டிருந்தார். அவருடைய எண்ணங்களை இந்த சர்க்கார் உண்மையாக நிறைவேற்றவேண்டுமானால், சர்க்கார் கொணரும் திட்டங்களை அதிகாரிகள் சரிவர அமல் நடத்தும்படிச் செய்யவேண்டும். ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு வேண்டிய சௌகரியங்களைக் காலாகாலங்களில் செய்துகொடுக்கவேண்டும். அதிகாரிகள் சர்க்காரில் சம்பளம் வாங்குவது தங்களுடைய குழந்தைகளுக்காகவோ, மற்றவர்களுக்கோ சம்பாதிக்கிறோம் என்று மட்டும் நினைக்காமல், ஹரிஜனங்களுடைய முன்னேற்றத்திற்காகவே தாங்கள் சர்க்காரால் நியமிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறார்கள் என்று நினைத்து மனப்பூர்வமாக ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு உதவி செய்யவேண்டும். அம்மாதிரி அதிகாரிகள் செய்யவேண்டிய கடமையைப்பற்றி சர்க்கார் அவர்களுக்கு ஞாபகப்படுத்தவேண்டும்.

“குறிப்பாக, 1946-வது ஆண்டிலே சடையகுப்பம் கிராமத்தில் வெள்ளம் வந்தபோது கிராமம் அழிந்து போகும் நிலைமை ஏற்பட்டவுடனே அங்கிருக்கக்கூடிய வீடுகளைக்காலி செய்து திருவொற்றியூரிலுள்ள சிகரெட் கம்பெனியாருடைய இடத்தில் அவர்கள் வந்து குடியேறினார்கள். 6 ஆண்டுகள் கடந்து விட்டன. இதுவரையிலும் அவர்களுக்கு பட்டா போட்டுக் கொடுக்கவில்லை. நிலசொந்தக்காரரே முன்வந்து, நிலத்தை இவர்களுக்குக் கொடுத்துவிடுகிறேன் என்று சொன்னபோதிலும், தாசில்தார் இதுவரையிலும் அங்கு வந்து, பட்டா போட்டு ஏழை ஹரிஜனங்களுக்குக் கொடுக்கவில்லையென்பதை நான் தெரிவித்துக்கொள்ளப் பிரியப்படுகின்றேன்.

“ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு கல்வி மிக அவசியம் என்று எதிர்க்கட்சியில் இருக்கின்றவர்கள் பேசுகின்றார்கள். ஒரு நல்ல நிலையில் இருக்கின்றவர்கள் பேசுகின்றார்கள். ஏழைகளும் பேசுகின்றார்கள். ஆனால், இந்த சென்னை மாநகரிலே பிளாட்டாரத்தில் வீடுதான், உணவை உணவின்றி பிச்சை எடுக்கும் நிலையில் இன்றைக்கு காட்சியளிக்கின்ற அவர்கள் யார் என்பதை நங்கள் சிந்திக்கவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.

“ஆகவே, ஹரிஜன மக்களுடைய நிலையை உயர்த்தவேண்டும். நடைபாதையில் காட்சியளிக்கின்ற மக்கள் ஹரிஜன மக்கள் என்பதை மறக்கக் கூடாது. ஆகவே, இன்றைய சர்க்கார் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு நன்மை செய்வதே அவர்கள் நோக்கமாக இருந்தபோதிலும், ஒரு சில அதிகாரிகளும், இங்கு இருக்கக்கூடிய, குறிப்பாக எம்.எல்.ஏ. க்களும் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு அபிவிருத்தி அவசியமென்பதை உணர்வேண்டும். எம்.எல்.ஏ.க்கள் ஒவ்வொரு பேட்டை பேட்டையாகச் சென்று பிரசாரம் செய்யவேண்டும், பெரிய மனிதன் யாராயிருந்தாலும், கொஞ்சங்கூட பயமில்லாமல் ஹரிஜன அபிவிருத்தி அவசியத்தை அவர்களுக்கு எடுத்துக்காட்டி ஹரிஜனங்கள் முன்னேற்றம் இந்த வழியில் நடக்கவேண்டுமென்று சொல்வதற்கு எம். எல். ஏ. க்களுக்கு ஒரு வாய்ப்பு இருக்கிறது. ஹரிஜன சமூகத்திற்கு எந்தவிதமான நன்மையும் ஏற்படவில்லையென்பதாகவே ஹரிஜனங்கள் நினைக்கிறார்கள். ஹரிஜன அபிவிருத்தியைப்பற்றி பேச்சளவிலே சொல்லப்படுகிறது. அதைச் செயல்படவில்லை செய்யவேண்டுமென்று இந்தச் சபையில் நான் தெரிவித்துக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.

“ஹரிஜன அபிவிருத்திக்காகப் போட்டிருக்கின்ற சிப்பந்திகள் அத்தனை பேரும் ஹரிஜனங்களுடைய அபிவிருத்திக்காகத் தங்களை சர்க்கார் போட்டிருக்கிறார்கள் என்ற எண்ணத்தில் சேவை செய்யவேண்டுமென்று தெரிவித்துக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன். இன்றைக்கு சர்க்கார் மீது குறை சொல்லிப் பிரயோஜனமில்லை. மந்திரிகள் மீது குறைசொல்லிப் பிரயோஜனமில்லை. அந்த டிபார்ட்மெண்டை யார் யார் நிர்வாகம் செய்கின்றாரோ அந்த அதிகாரி தான் முக்கியமாக உணரவேண்டும். ஆகவே சர்க்கார் அவர்களுக்கு சொல்லி நல்ல முறையில் நடந்துகொள்ளும்படிச் செய்யவேண்டுமென்று மேலும் கேட்டுக்கொண்டு, சர்க்கார் கொண்முவந்திருக்கும் மானியத்தை நான் ஆதரித்து என்னுடைய பேச்சை முடித்துக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.”

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SRI G. C. KONDAYYA :—“ Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the Harijan problem is not separate from the general problem of poverty in our State. Harijans in our country are the worst sufferers from poverty coupled with the ugly social oppression. Therefore, if the Government are serious of solving the problem of Harijans, they should try to peep into the root causes. Legislative measures like temple entry and removal of untouchability will not solve the problem, and, in fact they did not solve the problem all these years. Harijans have no properties; and they are a class of agricultural labourers; they work on lands belonging to others and earn wages in the villages. We all know that agriculture alone cannot provide work for all the people; even the wages they earn for the work they do in the villages are very, very low and at present there is no law fixing the minimum wages, and the Harijans are therefore running from town to town in search of any mean job. When this is the root cause of the Harijan problem, I do not know how the Harijans are going to be benefited by these piecemeal methods of granting some money for opening Harijan hostels, etc. The Government should first bring forward a legislation fixing the minimum living wage for the agricultural labourers which would not only increase their purchasing power, but would also solve many of the disputes in the villages between the ryots and the Harijans.

“ To solve the unemployment problem of Harijans, ‘ land to the tiller ’ is the only salvation. The Government may feel that it is a far-fetched idea and not desirable at present. But something must be done to provide work for these people. For this purpose, the Government should take over all the cultivable lands and the forests that are lying waste in the villages and assign them to these agricultural labourers without delay. The Harijans are so poor that they cannot till the land even if it is given free. So, the Government should extend to them some financial help also by way of loans. In this way they can be helped to a greater extent.

“ The housing problem of Harijans is becoming acute in the villages. They are living in huts, and hundreds of families are huddled in one place. It is because they cannot go anywhere else. It is true there are Government Orders to provide them with house-sites. I think that no house-sites are actually assigned to them. For example, in the village of Vasali in my district, hundreds of Harijan families are living in one acre of land. For the last four years, they have been agitating, begging and praying to the Government to allot them house-sites. But the Harijan Welfare Officers and the Government are not paying any heed to their grievances. This is the way in which the Harijan problem is being solved in our State. Unless some legislation is passed urgently in regard to allotting house-sites to Harijans, mere Government Orders will not help them.

“ Then, Sir, I wish to say a few words in regard to the social oppression of Harijans in the villages. The rich sections of the people in the villages are observing social boycott of Harijans and are trying to spit the poor against the poor and thus perpetuate

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* SRI M. MARIMUTHU :—“ கனம் உதவி சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே, ஹரிஜன மான்யத்தை நான் முழுமனதுடன் ஆதரிக்கின்றேன். ஹரிஜன மக்களின் முன்னேற்றத்திற்கு மகாத்மா காந்தியவர்கள் செய்த பெரிய தியாகம் என்னவென்றால், அழியாத செல்வமாகிய கல்விச் செல்வத்தை ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு அளித்தாலொழிய, அவர்கள் முன்னேற்றமுடியாது என்று நினைத்து, அவர்களுடைய முன்னேற்றத்திற்கான பல காரியங்களைச் செய்வதற்கு. ஹரிஜன மக்களின் துர்திருஷ்டவசத்தினால் அவர் கொல்லப் பட்டார். அதற்கு அடுத்தபடியாக, தென்னாடு காந்தி என்று பெயர் வாய்ந்த நமது மதிப்பிற்குரிய முதல் மந்திரி அவர்கள் ஹரிஜன மக்களின் கல்வி முதலிய விஷயங்களை அவர் ஆயுள் பரியந்தம் கைவிடமாட்டார் என்பதை நான் அழுத்தந்திருத்தமவர உறுதி கூறுவேன்.

“ஹரிஜன மக்களுக்கு மனைக்கட்டுகள் கொடுக்கும் விஷயமாக, நான் பழைய எம். எல்.ஏ. ஆக 1937-ம் ஆண்டு இருந்து இந்த நிமிஷம் வரையில், ஹரிஜன மக்கள் படும கஷ்டங்களையெல்லாம் அடிக்கடி மந்திரிகளிடத்தில் வாதாடியது உண்மை. தஞ்சை ஜில்லாவில் 1 கால்பாகம் சர்க்காருடைய நிலமாகவும், முக்கால் பாகமானது ஜமீன், இலாபம், சத்திரவாரி, சோத்திரியம், கோவில் மான்யமாகவிருக்கிறது. ஹரிஜன மக்கள் இந்த நிமிஷம் வரையில் படும கஷ்டங்களை எண்ணிப்போன்ற சகோதர அங்கத்தினர்கள் சொல்லியது உண்மையே. அந்த மாதிரியான கஷ்டங்கள் மேற்படி ஐந்த இடங்களில்தான் அதிகமாக இருக்கின்றன. சர்க்காருடைய நிலத்தில் இருக்கப்பட்ட ஹரிஜன மக்களுக்கு அந்தவிதமான கஷ்டங்கள் அவ்வளவு இல்லையென்று நான் உறுதியாகக் கூறுவேன். இந்த 5 இடங்களில் இருக்கப்பட்ட ஹரிஜனங்கள் படும கஷ்டங்கள் சொல்லமுடியாத முறையில் இருப்பதால், அது சென்ற அக்டோபரிலிருந்து காரணம் கவரின்மென்பாரின் சர்க்கார் பார்வைக்கு வந்திருக்கிறது. ஆகையால் அங்கு இருக்கக் கூடிய ஹரிஜன மக்களுக்கு சொந்த மனைக்கட்டு, நடைபாதை, குடி, தண்ணீர் கிணறு, பாடசாலை, மயானம் முதலியவைகளை உடனடியாக கொடுக்கும்படி நான் சர்க்காருக்கு ஞாபக முட்டுகிறேன். அடுத்தபடியாக தஞ்சை ஜில்லாவின் குறைகளை எண்ணிப்போன்ற இதர ஜில்லா அங்கத்தினர்கள் சொல்வதைக் காட்டிலும் அந்த ஜில்லாவாசியாக இருக்கப்பட்ட நான் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு வேண்டிய சௌகரியங்களைச் செய்ய வேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.

“ அடுத்தபடியாக, இந்த ஹரிஜன மக்கள் உத்தியோகத்திற்கு, அதாவது ப்யூன், உபாத்தியாயர் முதலிய உத்தியோகங்களைத் தேடித் தருவதற்கு மிகவும் உபயோகமாக இருப்பது எம்ப்ளாய்மென்ட் எக்ஸ்சேஞ் ஆபீஸ். இந்த ஆபீஸ் இருப்பதால், உத்தியோகம் தேடிக்கொள்ளும் விஷயத்தில் லஞ்ச ஊழல் இருக்காது. தஞ்சாவூர் எம்ப்ளாய்மென்ட் ஆபீஸைப் போல இன்னும் இதர ஜில்லாக்களிலுமிருப்பதை பர்மெனன்டாக—எற்படுத்தியிருக்கலாம். ஹரிஜனங்கள் ப்யூன் முதல் குமாஸ்தா வளையில் போவதற்கு ஏதாவது இருக்குமென்பதை சர்க்காருக்கு ஞாபகமுட்டுகின்றேன். இந்த மான்யத்தை நான் முழுமனதுடன் ஆதரிக்கின்றேன்.”

* SRI E. T. KUNHAN :—“ Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, അന്ന് ഇംപ്രൂവ്മെന്റ് മോഷൻ നെ support ചെയ്തുകൊള്ളൂ. സർ, ഇന്ന് ഹരിജനങ്ങൾക്ക് വേണ്ടി 74 ലക്ഷം രൂപകൊടുക്കണം ഇക്കാര്യത്തെ Budget ൽ നിക്ഷേപിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളത്. എന്നാൽ മലബാറിലെ ഹരിജൻ മോശം പുകൾക്ക് വേണ്ടി 16,300 രൂപകൊടുക്കണം നിക്ഷേപിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളത്. പാലക്കാട് മോശം വിഭാഗം 7,100 ക.യും കോഴിക്കോട് മോശം വിഭാഗം 3,200 ക.യും കൂടി 16,300 ക.യാണെന്നായിരിക്കുമുള്ളത്. മലബാറിലെ ഹരിജനങ്ങളുടെ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം അധഃപതനത്തിലാണ് എന്ന് ഇതുകൊണ്ടുതന്നെ മനസ്സിലാക്കുക.

[Sri E. T. Kunhan]

DEPUTY SPEAKER:—"The House will now rise for lunch and meet again at 2-30 p.m."

(After lunch—2-30 p.m.)

* SRI G. JOSEPH :—“ అవ్వతే, గత 5 సంవత్సరముల కాలాగెను వరి పాలనలో హరిజనులకు యేదో మేలు చేశామని కాలాగెనువారు చెబున్నారు. ఈ ఆయిదేండ్లపాలనలో హరిజనులకు మేలు జరుగ వలసి సరిగదా యెంతో ఆన్వాయం జరిగిందని నేను అంటున్నాను. అంతేకాకుండా రాజాజీ అధికారినిబోకి వచ్చినాడా హరిజనులను చిన్న దూవే దూచాడని నేను గట్టిగా చెప్పగలను. ఈ శాసన సభలో 64 మంది హరిజన సభ్యులున్నారు. అధమం నున్నారు హరిజనులకైనా ఈ మంత్రివర్గంలో స్థానముండవలసింది. కాని ఆయన ఒక్క హరిజనునకే మంత్రి పదవి యిచ్చేడు. హరిజనుల పట్టి ఆయనకల అధిమానానికి యిదే తార్కాణం. ఒకటూ Speaker పదవి తమకు యిచ్చినామని ఆయన హరిజనులను సంప్రది పరచవచ్చు గాని అది మాత్రం సరిగాదు. తమను Speaker పదవికి యెన్నకొనినది కాలాగెను పక్షం ఒక్కటే కాదని తెలియజేస్తున్నాను. స్పీకరు తెలివితేటలనుబట్టి ఎన్ని కయ్యాడు. హరిజనులకు యేదో మేలుచేస్తామని చెప్పే కాలాగెను నాయకులు

[Sri G. Joseph]

[24th July 1952]

ఒక్క మంత్రి తుదితోనే వారిని సంతృప్తిపడమని చెప్పటం అన్యాయం. హరిజనులకు భామామ ప్రకారం మంత్రిమర్గంలో కూడు స్థానాలను యీయాలని రాజకీయాల చారిగారు గుర్తించాలి.

“దేవాలయ ప్రవేశ విషయంలో గూడా ప్రభుత్వంవారు చేసిన చట్టం నిష్ప్రయోజనంగా ఉంది. ఈ దేవాలయ ప్రవేశాలు ప్రదర్శనలుగా నేతన్నాయిగాని, అవరణ లో ముక్కడా అమలు జరగటంలేదని ప్రభుత్వం గుర్తించాలి. ఇదే విధంగా ఆస్పత్రి శృతా నివారణ చట్టం గూడా సవరణ చేత పాటించబడడంలేదు. ఈ విషయంలో యెక్కో సంఘ టినలు గౌరవ సభ్యులకు తెలియజేయగలను. ఉదాహరణగా రెండు మూడు సంవత్సరాల గూర్చి మనవి చేస్తాను. కేవల తాలూకాలోని నల్లారిపాలెంలో హరిజనులను చెరువులో నీరు ముండుకోనియ్యరు. తనాతి తాలూకాలోని చావలి గ్రామంలో హరిజనులు కొడుగు వేసుకొని వెళ్ళకూడదు cycle యొక్క కూడదు. ఇక కాకిపాలెంలో ఒక బజారు హరిజనులు దాటకూడదు. హరిజనులపట్టు అది 38 ఏ అక్షం శక్తిగా మారి పోయింది. ఇది ఆస్పత్రి తనివారణ సక్రమంగానా లేక అక్రమంగానా అమలు జరుగుతున్నది అనే దానిని నిరూపిస్తుంది. దేవాలయ ప్రవేశం, ఆస్పత్రి శృతా నివారణ అనే సంస్కరణలు నామ మాత్రంగానే ఉండిపోయినాయి. కాంగ్రెసువారికి యిది ప్రచారకాణాలు పనికివస్తాయేమోగాని ప్రజలను మాత్రం ఒప్పించలేవు. గాంగేసు వారు గత ఏండ్లలో యీ నిష్ప్రయోజనమైన సంస్కరణలను చేశామని సంతోష పడుతున్నారు. కాని వారు హరిజనులకు అర్థికంగా యంత అన్యాయం చేశారో గమనించవలసియుంది. విండె తరబడి హరిజనులు సాగు చేసుకొన్న భూములను రాజకీయ భాధితులకు భూదానం చేసే నెపంతో తీసుకొనివచ్చారు. ఈనాడు యిలాటి సమస్య తప్పక ఉన్నాయి. ఇదేనా హరిజనోద్ధరణ అని అడుగుతున్నాను. రాజాజీ మంత్రి తర్రం యేర్పడిన తర్వాత గూడా యిటువంటి అన్యాయాలు జరగటం తగ్గలేదు. దాత్ర బారు అనే గ్రామంలో హరిజనులు 10 సంవత్సరాలుగా బంజరు భూమిని సాగు చేస్తూ అనుభవిస్తున్నారు. ఈ సంవత్సరం మే నెలలో రాజాజీ ప్రభుత్వం 144 వ నెక్ట్సు అమలుపై హరిజనులను ఆ భూములనుండి తొలగించేసింది. దాని తోనే సంతృప్తి పడక ఆ భూమిని తనాతి కాళరస్మిద్దు కాకుమాన వెంటిప్పయ్య అనే అతనికిచ్చింది. నేడ్యం చేసేవానిని తొలగించి బలవంతంగా భూమిని భాగ్యవంతులకు యివ్వటమనేది రాజాజీ ప్రభుత్వం యొక్క ఉద్దేశమయినది అడుగుతున్నాను. రాజకీయ భాధితులకు భూదానమనే నెపంతో హరిజనులు పది పదిహేను సంవత్సరాలుగా సాగు చేస్తున్న భూమిని లాగుకుంటుంది ఈ రాజాజీ ప్రభుత్వం. రాజకీయ భాధితులలో భూమిని స్వయంగా సాగుచేసేవారు చాలా తక్కువ. ఇక నైనా ఈ విధానంలోని న్యాయా న్యాయాలను గమనించి హరిజనుల వద్దనుంచి తీసుకొన్న భూమిని తిరిగి వారికి సంక్రమింప జేయవలసిందని ప్రభుత్వంవారిని కోరుతున్నాను. బంజరు భూములను హరిజనులకు, యితర భూమిలేనివారికి యిచ్చిన నేగాని మనదేశంలో వ్యవసాయం అభివృద్ధి చెందదని ప్రభుత్వంవారు గుర్తించాలి. హరిజనులకు న్యాయం కలుగజేయాలి.

Field Labour Co-operative Societies విషయంలో గూడా చాలా అక్రమాలు జరుగుతున్నాయి కరణాలు, మునసబలు, హరిజనుల వద్దనుంచి లంచాలు గుంజుతున్నారు. ప్రతి సంవత్సరం లీజు ప్రపోజన్లు పంపించాలనే నిబంధన యున్నందు వల్ల యీ గ్రామ కరణాలు ఒక స్టానైటింగ్ భూమిని లంచమివ్వని కారణంగా

24th July 1952]

[Sri G. Joseph]

మరొక సానైటికి బిజీ ప్రహజం చేయటంవల్ల సానైటిల మధ్య అనేక తగాదా లాస్తూ న్నాయి. వెంటనే ప్రభుత్వము సానైటి ఘాతులకు చట్టాలిచ్చి ఇటువంటి అక్రమాలను నివారించవలసినదని ప్రభుత్వాన్ని కోరుచున్నాను.

“అంతేకాకుండా పు ప్రభుత్వం ప్రస్తుత రోజులలోగూడా నిమ్మ బాతులవారికి పాగు కివ్వటానికి కొంత ఘామి ప్రయత్నించబడింది. కాని కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వం వచ్చిన తర్వాత ఆ ఘామినిబాదా రాజీయి వాధతులకు పంచిపెట్ట ప్రయత్నించింది. ఇటువంటి విధానం రద్దుచేయవలసిందని ప్రభుత్వంవారిని కోరుతున్నాను. ఎరుకలు, వినాదులు మొదలైన బాతులవారిని యివ్వవలసి సీ.టి. యాక్టుక్రింద వాధలు పెట్టేవారు దానికి బదులు Habitual Offenders Act ను పెట్టారు. అది యింకా వాధాకరంగా వుంది. యీ అమాయకులను పోలీసువారు యెక్కువగా పొంపిస్తున్నారు. వాళ్లను బెడతించి క్లోజ్, కోర్క్రాంట్లు కాజేస్తున్నారు. ఇక ముందైనా యిటువంటి అక్రమాలు జరగకుండా వాధలనున్న ఆక్టలన్నీ రద్దుచేయవలసిందిగా కోరుచున్నాను.”

*SRI K. SANTHAPPA:—“అధ్యక్ష, యీ రిమాండుపై మాట్లాడుతున్నాను అవకాశము ఇచ్చినందులకు మిమ్మలను నిండా అభినందించుచున్నాను. ప్రభుత్వం వారు తెచ్చిన ప్రతిపాదనను బలపరుస్తున్నాను. ఈ ప్రభుత్వమువారు, మంత్రులు శాసనసభ్యులు హరిజనుల విషయం గురించి వాచ్చు శ్రద్ధ చూపవలెనని చాగ్గిస్తున్నాను. హరిజనులకు ఘాములు యిచ్చే విషయములో (కలి) గామమునందను హరిజనులు రైతులుగాను, ఘామి దున్నకునేవాళ్లుగాను ఉన్నారు. యిటువంటి రెండు కేసులు నిన్ననే Harijan Welfare Minister వారికి యిచ్చాను. అనంతపురం తాలూకాలోని గార్లదెన్నె మజరా తలగింజుపల్లె గ్రామంలో బుడ్డా రెడ్డి అనే రైతు ఉన్నాడు. ఈయన హరిజనులకు యిచ్చినటువంటి ఘామిని ఘమారు రెండు సంవత్సరాల నుంచి, ప్రభుత్వమునుంచి ప్రత్యర్థులు వచ్చినందు, దున్నకొని అనిధి వించుచున్నాడు.

“ఇప్పుడు మధ్యపాన నిషేధ చట్టమును విక్కరించినారినేవాళ్లను ఎక్కువగించుచున్నారో అలాగే గవర్నమెంటు ఆర్డర్లు ధిక్కరించినవారిని ఆదేశముగా కట్టించిపెట్టి యితే యీ వేద హరిజనులకు యిచ్చినటువంటి ఘాములు దున్నకొనకుండా కొంత న్యాయము జరుగుతుందని నా నమ్మకము. అంతే కాకుండా హరిజనులకు యిచ్చినటువంటి యినాం ఘాములు, మాన్యము ఘాములు అన్యాయంగా యీ రైతులు అక్రమించుకొని యీ హరిజనులకు దక్కకుండా చేస్తున్నారని ఇటువంటి అక్రమాలలోపున్న ఘాముల పట్టికను తయారుచేయించి విచారించగలందులకు ప్రభుత్వం వారిని కోరుతున్నాను.

“రెండవది, బిటెటన సుస్య. మన దేశంలో ముఖ్యంగా మన రాష్ట్రంలో బిటెటన చేయవారు అనేకమంది ఉన్నారు. వీరిలో చాలామంది యువకులుగా వున్నవాళ్లు, దృఢశరీరులుగా ఉన్నవాళ్లు, స్త్రీలు, పురుషులు, సోమరితనం పెంచుకొని, ఇది తేలికైన జీవితమని ఎంచి, ఈ బిటెటనకు బయలుదేరి జీవించుచున్నారు. ఇంతేకాకుండా యీ బిటెటను గ్రామాలలోనే కాకుండా పట్టణములలోనూ, ఇంకా ప్రతి రైలుబండిలోనూ ముఖ్యంగా ఆంధ్రదేశములో, ఇదే పనిలో జాస్తిగా వుంటాయన్నారు. వీరి నందరిని కేంద్రీకరించి యిప్పుడు మన రాష్ట్రములో నున్న కార్మిక పెర్లంలో చేర్చి వీరేకమైనపని యిచ్చి, వాటికి తగిన సౌకర్యాలు కల్పించి నట్లయితే, బిటెటనశక్తి పడదు కాకుండా begger houses ఎత్తివేయ వీలగుననియు, ప్రభుత్వంవారు మేర్పరచిన కర్తావ్యాలకు ఉపయోగముకాగలదని మనవిచేయుచున్నాను.

[Sri K. Santhappa]

[24th July 1952]

“ఇక మూడవది ఉద్యోగాల విషయము మనవి చేస్తాను. పల్లెలలోని హరిజనులు గవర్నమెంటు తరఫున ఉన్న రివిన్యూ డిపార్టుమెంటులో గ్రామ తలారి, వెట్టి, నీరుగంటి ఆసె ఉద్యోగాలు చేస్తూ జీవిస్తున్నారు. వీరికి యీనాడె యిచ్చేటటువంటి జీతము పరిశీలించగా దినమునకు తొమ్మిది అణాలుగాడ గిట్టలేదు. యీ రోజులలో ప్రతి మనుష్యుడుగాని, స్త్రీగాని దినమునకు హాలి ఒక రూపాయిపైగా సంపాదించుకోగలుగుతున్నారు. అటువంటిది యీ వెట్టివారికి యిప్పుడు యిస్తుంటువంటి జీతము చాలా హీనముగావున్నదిగాన, వీరికి నెల జీతము ముప్పది రూపాయల వరకూ పెంచగోరుతాను. ఇంకొకాకుండా మన శాసనసభ్యులకు ఒక దినము యిచ్చేటటువంటి సిటింగు యలవమ్మ అంతగూడా యీ వెట్టి ఉద్యోగికి లేనందువల్ల ప్రభుత్వం వారు వీరి జీతము ముప్పది రూపాయలవరకూ పెంచగలండులకు ప్రార్థిస్తున్నాను. మరియూ యీ ఉద్యోగులు హరిజనులుగా ఉన్నారు. గ్రామాలకు గవర్నమెంటు డిపార్టుమెంటువారు ఎవ్వరు వెళ్లనను ఆ గ్రామములో వారికిగల గవర్నమెంటుకు సంబంధించిన పని యీ వెట్టివారి మూలకముగా జరుపుకొనుచున్నారు. ఆ గ్రామములో యీ వెట్టివారు తప్ప మరెవరివల్లను అట్టి గవర్నమెంటు పనులు నిర్వహించుకొనలేరు గనుక వారి services చాలా అవసరము అయినందున వారికి జీతము పెంచించమని ప్రభుత్వమువారిని కోరుతున్నాను.”

2-40
P.m.

SRI M. NARAYANASWAMI:—“I rise on a point of order, Sir, when hon. Members are making speeches on the ‘Harijan Uplift’ Demand, the Hon. the Minister in charge of Harijan Uplift is not present in the House. The Hon. Minister is just now entering.”

MR. SPEAKER:—“But other Hon. Ministers who are present in the House are taking down notes of what hon. Members are saying.”

SRI S. PANCHAKSHARAM:—“As a matter of fact, the Hon. Minister was sitting here, Sir”.

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—“When I am here, I represent the other Ministers also, Sir.”

* **SRI K. SANTHAPPA:**—“మరొక విషయమేమిటంటే, ఈ హరిజనులు సాధారణముగా గ్రామాలకు చాలాదూరములో ఏ మురికిగుంట ప్రక్కకో, కూరముగా యిండ్లు కట్టుకొని నివసిస్తూవుంటున్నారు. పట్టణములలో గూడా వారు దూరముగా insanitary ప్రదేశములలో ఉండే చిలుగలుగుతున్నది. వీరియొక్క జీవితము అంతయు పరిశీలించి చూస్తే, చాలా హీనమైన జీవితము గడుపుతున్నారని తెప్పగలను. ఇండ్లుగాని, భూమిగాని లేని నిరుపేద ప్రజానీకమైన యీ హరిజనులకు మునిసి పల్ యొక్కగాని, జిల్లా బోర్డుల యొక్కగాని పంచాయతీ బోర్డు యొక్కగాని స్థలములు ఖాళీగాయిన్న దెడల యీ హరిజనులకు యిండ్లు కట్టుకొనేందుకు యిప్పించవలయునని ప్రభుత్వమువారిని కోరుతున్నాను. అదే విధముగా గ్రామములలోగూడా గవర్నమెంటు స్థలములు ఖాళీగా ఉన్నదెడల యీ హరిజనులకు యిండ్ల స్థలములకింద యిప్పించవలసని కోరుతున్నాను.

“విద్యార్థివృద్ధి విషయములో హరిజనులకు ఉచిత విద్యాసౌకర్యాలు కలిగించుచూ, వీరి తాలూకాలలోనూ ఒక hostel open చేయించవలెను. యీ విద్యార్థులకు జిల్లా బోర్డు పాఠశాలలోను, తదితర గవర్నమెంటు కళాశాలలోను scholar-

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ships ಯಾವುದೇ ವಿಧಕ್ಕೂ ವಿಧವೂ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಗಾಗಿ ಲಿಮಿಟೇಡ್ ಗಳನ್ನು ಪ್ರಭುತ್ವವು ವಾರಿ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಕರಣವನ್ನು ಆದ್ದರಿಂದಲೂ ಒಂದು ಭಾಗವನ್ನು ಪಂಚಾಲಯವು ಕೊಡುತ್ತದೆ. ಪ್ರಸ್ತುತವು ಯಾವ ಹರಿಜನ್ uplift ಕು ಗಾಸ್ 74 ಲಕ್ಷವು ಖರ್ಚು ಮಾಡುವುದಿಲ್ಲವೆಂದು ಯಾವ ಸ್ಥಳೀಯ ನಿಜವಾಗೂ ಹರಿಜನರ uplift ಕೊಡುವ ಕಾಲವಿಲ್ಲವೆಂದು ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯವು. ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಕರಣದ ಹರಿಜನರ ಕಂದರಿಗೆ ವಾರಿ ಸೌಕರ್ಯವಾಗುವುದು ಯಾವ ಸ್ಥಳೀಯ ಕಾಲದ ಗಾಸ್ ಕನಿಷ್ಠವು ಒಂದು ಕೊಟಿ ರೂಪಾಯಿಗಳನ್ನು ಕೊಡುವುದಿಲ್ಲವೆಂದು ವಿಧಿಸಲಾಗಿದೆ. ಇದನ್ನು ಗ್ರಹಿಸುವುದು, ಜೀವನವು ವಿವಿಧವಾಗಲೂ ಪ್ರಭುತ್ವವು ವಾರಿ ಕೊಡುವುದು ಇಂತಹವು ವಿವರಿಸುವುದು ಇಲ್ಲವೆಂದು.

* SRI S. PAKKIRISAMI PILLAY:—“Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the cut motion moved by the hon. Member Sri V. V. Ramaswami Nadar. It is seen from the Budget that no radical change has been effected in the allotment of funds for Harijan Uplift during this year. We have also seen that during the past four or five years, Harijans have been neglected in spite of the promises made by Congress leaders that they would do their best to better the lot of the Harijans.

“In the villages the Harijans who remain in the remote localities did not assert themselves. Being illiterate they were guided by the literate high class societies who exploited them. The Harijans were thrown into the background and treated as untouchables. The Harijans were not courageous to assert themselves and come forward in life. Because they did not come forward to clamour for their rights, their voice was never heard. It was a cry in the wilderness.

“What is the case in Madras City? Nothing better. If some members of the Harijan community form themselves into an association and apply for certain facilities to be provided, the authorities are in a hesitant mood to grant the same. I shall cite an instance. About 250 members belonging to the Harijan community in our area formed themselves into an organization and requested the Government that their organization might be registered as a co-operative society. The Minister concerned was approached by them in this connexion. The Harijans approached the Co-operative Sub-Registrar to acquire for them the vacant lands so that they could put up superstructures on them. Every Harijan member meanwhile subscribed five rupees each. The total came to fourteen thousand rupees. Even then the Co-operative Sub-Registrar hesitated to give sanction to the Harijans to form themselves into a co-operative society, because he perhaps thought that Harijans were not the people who were fit enough to be helped. If this is the kind of treatment meted out to the Harijans, how can the Government say that they have effected improvement in the case of Harijans?

“I also know, Sir, that in a neighbouring place some of the Harijan members have put up superstructures on a private land and have been paying land rent to the land owner. All hon. Members know that of late the land value had risen abnormally. The land owner wants to sell his land at a higher rate. So he

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influenced the law courts and got orders for eviction. With the help of the police constables he is evicting these Harijan members of that locality. The Government have not come forward to help these poor helpless residents. We find in cities also, the position of Harijans is no better. Even when Harijans gather together and request the Government for any favour, their request is turned down.

"Unless a rapid and revolutionary change is effected in the administrative machinery of the Government, I am sure the Harijans in the 'cheris' cannot hope for any substantial help from the Government. The present provision in the Budget for Harijan Uplift is, I submit, not at all enough. The Government ought to provide more for the welfare of Harijans."

2-50 P.M. MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member's time is up. Sri K. Malakondayya will now speak."

SRI K. MALAKONDAIAH:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, ప్రభుత్వం హరిజనులను అభివృద్ధిపరచే నిమిత్తమే 74 లక్షల రూపాయలను కేటాయించిందని చెప్తున్నారు. ఈ మొత్తం హరిజనుల స్థితిని బాగుపర్చే నిమిత్తం సరిపోతుందా అని ఆడుగుతున్నాను. ఉద్యోగుల జీత భత్యాలకు వెచ్చించే స్థాన్లు మినహాయించినట్లయితే నిజంగా హరిజనుల నిమిత్తమే ఖర్చుచేసే మొత్తం ఓక్కొక్క కుటుంబానికి నువ్వు అరణాలో ఎనిమిదణాలో మాత్రమే వుంటుందని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. నిజంగా హరిజనులను అభివృద్ధిపరచటానికి యీ మొత్తం సరిపోతుందా అని ఆడుగుతున్నాను. గత 5 సంవత్సరాలుగా కాంగ్రెసు పరిపాలనలో హరిజనుల స్థితి మెరుగవరకు బాగుపడింది అనే విషయం ఆలోచిస్తే ఫలితం యంత మాత్రం లేదనే చెప్పవలసియుంది. నాకు రోజురోజూ హరిజనులకు జరిగిన అన్యాయాలు గురించి petitions వస్తున్నాయి. ఇండ్ల స్థలాలు యిప్పించలేదని 200 petitions వచ్చాయి. బంజరు భూములు కావాలని 180 petitions వచ్చాయి. బావులు కావాలని 60 petitions వచ్చాయి. ఈ విధంగా ఎక్కడ దరఖాస్తులు వస్తున్నాయి. ఎంత మంది హరిజనులకు యిల్ల స్థలాలిచ్చారు, ఎంత మంది హరిజనులకు బంజరు భూములు సాగుకుయిచ్చారు, ఎన్ని మంది నిల్వ బావులు తవ్వించారు అనే విషయము పైనే ప్రభుత్వం హరిజనులకు యంత వరకు మేలు చేస్తోంది అనేది తెలుసుకోవచ్చు. ఈ పనులలో ప్రభుత్వం గత 5 సంవత్సరాలలో పాచ్చి శతదశమవలెదని నేను అభిప్రాయపడుతున్నాను. హరిజనులయొక్క స్థితిని బాగుచేయాలంటే యీ అరణాలు సరిపోదు. నిజపాత్రకమైన భూసంస్కరణలు చేసినాడే హరిజనులు బాగుపడతారు దున్నేవానికే భూమిని హక్కు కలుగజేయాలి. నాగుకు అనువైన భూములను హరిజనులకియాలి. అంతేనాని అస్పృశ్యతా నివారణ చట్టంచేశాం, హరిజనులు దేవాలయాలలోకి వెళ్లటానికి అనుమతించాం అని చెప్పటంవల్ల ప్రయోజనంలేదు. ఈ సాంఘిక సంస్కరణలు అధికంగా హరిజనుల స్థితి బాగుపడినాడే సక్రమంగా అమలు జరుగుతాయి. లేని నాడు యీ సంస్కరణల ఫలితాన్ని హరిజనులు పొందలేరు. దారిద్ర్యంతో అమలు టిస్తున్న హరిజనులు ముందుగా కోరింది దారిద్ర్య నిర్మూలన, వారి శ్రమకు సక్రమమైన ఫలితం. ఈనాడు గ్రామాలలో చూడండి. భూస్వాములు యెన్నెన్ని విధాల వ్యవసాయ కూలీలను మోపుచుకున్నారో గమనించండి. వ్యవసాయ కూలీలకు కూలి ధాన్యం యిచ్చే సందర్భంలో భూస్వాములు పిచ్చ మానికలు ఉపయోగిస్తున్నారు. వారిచ్చే కొలత ప్రకారమైతే మానికకు 7 గిద్దలేవుంటాయి. అనగా ప్రతి కూలీకి

[Sri V. Arumugam]

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கொள்ளுகிறேன். வீட்டு வரி, நீர் வரி என்று ஹரிஜனங்களிடமிருந்து அதிகமாக கிராமப் பொதுவில் பணம் வசூலிக்கப்படுகிறது. இதையும் உடனடியாகத் தடுக்கவேண்டும்.

“ஹரிஜனங்கள் இன்று போவதற்கும் வருவதற்கும் ரோடு வசதியில்லாமல் ரொம்பவும் கஷ்டப்படுகிறார்கள். திருச்செந்தூர், ஸ்ரீவைகுண்டம் போன்ற இடங்களில் முக்கியமாக ஹரிஜனங்கள் படும் கஷ்டம் சொல்லமுடியாமல் இருக்கிறது. வயல்களுக்கும் நிலங்களுக்கும் மத்தியில் அவர்கள் இப்பொழுது சிறிய இடத்தில் அதிகமான பேர்கள் குடியிருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்கள் கடைக்குச் சென்று சாமான் வாங்கிக் கொண்டு இராக்காலங்களில் போவது ரொம்பவும் கஷ்டமாக இருக்கிறது. ஆகையால் அவர்களுக்குப் போவதற்கு வேண்டிய ரோடு வசதியை செய்து தருப்படியாகக் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். மேலும் கிராமங்களில் இருக்கக்கூடிய ஹரிஜனங்கள் குடிதண்ணீர் வசதியின்றி ரொம்பவும் கஷ்டப்படுகிறார்கள். ஆகையால் அவர்களுக்கு வேண்டிய குடி தண்ணீர் வசதியைச் செய்து கொடுக்கவேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். அவர்கள் வாழக்கூடிய இடங்களில் எல்லாம் கிணறுகள் வெட்டித் தரவேண்டுமென்பதாகவும் நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“அடுத்தபடியாக பாபநாசம் அணைக்கட்டிலிருந்து தண்ணீர் .

MR. SPEAKER :—‘அணைக்கட்டு விஷயங்கள் எல்லாம் நீர்ப்பாசன மானியத்திலே பேசவேண்டும். இப்பொழுது நீங்கள் ஹரிஜன மானியத்தைப் பற்றி மாத் திரம் பேசுங்கள்.’

* SRI V. ARUMUGAM :—‘தலைவர் அவர்களே, நான் முன்பு சொன்னது போல இன்னும் பலவிதமான கஷ்டங்கள் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு இன்று கிராமங்களில் இருந்து கொண்டு தான் வருகின்றன. இந்தக் கஷ்டங்களையெல்லாம் கனம் ஸ்ரீ வி. ராஜகோபால்சாஸிரியார் அவர்கள் உடனடியாக தீர்த்து வைத்து ஹரிஜன மக்களுக்கு அதிகமான நன்மையைச் செய்வார்கள் என்று நாங்கள் நம்புகிறோம். அவர்களும் அப்படியே நடத்தித்தான் தீர்வார்கள் என்ற முழு நம்பிக்கையோடு நான் இந்த மானியத்தை மனப்பூர்வமாக ஆதரிக்கிறேன்.’

3 p.m. SRI B. GANGAYYA NAIDU :—‘Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have got to say something about the policy of the Government in regard to Harijan Uplift and the cut motion moved by my friend, Mr. Ramaswami. Sir, the Harijans who form a section of the Hindu society have been suffering from poverty and economic depression for ages now. Most of the Harijans are poor, landless agricultural labourers. They are only getting agricultural wages, and the amount they so get is not sufficient for the maintenance of themselves and their families. Even the agricultural wages are not given to them throughout the year; they are able to earn wages only during a certain portion of the year. After we got Independence, no doubt, these Harijans are treated equitably and justly under the provisions of the Indian Constitution, so far as status in society is concerned. Some legislative enactments have been passed in order to enable them to enter temples, hotels and public places. How far these legislative enactments are enforced is the question before this Honourable House. I submit they are not at all enforced strictly. Simply in name they are on the Statute Book. If you go to the villages, you will see how the Harijans are being harassed by the Caste-Hindus. Now, what are the steps taken by the Government for the economic improvement of the rural Harijan population? No doubt the Government have

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started a separate department called the Harijan Welfare department; they have also appointed some Harijans to certain offices. But how far these officials are looking after the interests of the rural Harijan population is the main question to be considered. These officials are mostly living in district headquarters; they are not at all inclined to visit the villages to look after the welfare of the Harijans. There are innumerable Harijans in rural areas who are not able to get house-sites and who are at present living in thatched huts. Their population is increasing, but they are not able to get house-sites. There are of course rules saying that Government should acquire house-sites for them provided the Harijans pay one-fourth of the cost. The agricultural wages these Harijans are getting are already not sufficient for the maintenance of their families, and there is therefore no possibility of their being able to save anything out of their wages. Consequently they are not able to pay their one-fourth share of the cost of house-sites. Even granting that the Government give them house-sites, what about the money required for the construction or the erection of houses in the colonies? I suggest, therefore, that the Government should lend money to these poor people for erecting their huts, and they should be enabled to repay the amount of the loan in twenty equal instalments.

"As regards education, I wish to submit that as before, the teachers in the elementary schools continue to make the Harijan boys sit in a corner of the class room and continue to treat them with prejudice and partiality. So far as students who seek admission into high schools and colleges are concerned, they are asked to pay up the admission fee. Because of their poverty and their poor economic condition, they are not able to pay the admission fee in the first instance, although later on that amount may be refunded to them. I suggest, therefore, that Harijan students should be exempted from payment of the admission fee even at the time of their admission into the colleges and high schools.

"As regards Harijan hostels, at present, there are only one or two hostels for Harijan boys in each district. One or two hostels for a district are not sufficient; every taluk must have a hostel, so that it may be within the reach of every boy or girl who wants to live there and prosecute his or her studies.

"As regards drinking water wells, usually the caste-Hindus do not allow the Harijans to draw water from the wells which are common for the village. Especially in the Chodavaram taluk, a very large number of villages out of the 300 villages of the taluk, are suffering from scarcity of water. Generally, the huts of these poor Harijans are located at a distance from the village, and therefore the scarcity of water is felt by them more keenly. They have been sending petitions to the Tahsildar and the Collector to provide them with drinking water wells, but nothing so far has been done.

"One other point which I want to bring to the notice of this House is this; the Government have been repeatedly saying that banjars, porambores and cultivable waste lands would be given

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to the Harijans. How far they have implemented that promise must be found out. It is only after the requirements of the political sufferers and the military people are met that the balance available is given to the Harijans. Again, some Harijans who have been cultivating banjars and cultivable wastes for the past four or five years are now being sought to be evicted from their holdings, as the result, I am told, of a Government Order. If this is correct, something must be done to save these poor people from being evicted, and they should be enabled to continue in their holdings."

* SRI G. BAPANAYYA:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the cut motion. While doing so, I want to bring to the notice of this House a few things which are essential for the uplift of the Harijans. In our Constitution, it is provided that the Harijans should be given preference in the matter of the assignment of lands because the Harijans have been socially oppressed and economically exploited for a long time. Are our Government giving preference to the Harijans or to the landlords? I say our Government give preference only to the landlords and not to the Harijans. Why? I shall give you some examples. In the Krishna district, in Kaikalur taluk, in a certain village, about 500 acres were granted to a big landlord for a minimum value of Rs. 15 per acre, while the Harijans of that same village who formed a co-operative society and begged the Government to give them some land, were refused any land. That is the policy followed by the Government at present. In another instance, in the East Godavari district, Sri Allura Suryanarayana Raju who owns thousands of acres has been granted 554 acres of land, as if his thousands of acres are not enough for him. In the Anthervelpalem firka, about 3,500 Harijans and 1,000 fishermen are living; most of them are poor. Yet, a landlord owning thousands of acres is preferred to these poor Harijans. The mere passing of the Removal of Civil Disabilities Act cannot improve the social conditions of the Harijans. Their economic condition should be improved first by granting them cultivable waste lands free and next by providing them with special facilities. Again, at present, the Harijans who are mainly agricultural labourers are paid very low wages which are not sufficient to meet both ends. I therefore submit that in the interests of Harijan uplift, it is necessary that minimum wages should be fixed. Legislation in this respect may be undertaken. Similarly, as most of the Harijans are tenants and are being asked to pay high rents, an Act fixing the fair rent is highly necessary. Without passing these laws, it is not possible to attempt to raise the economic and social conditions of the Harijans.

"Then again, most of the hostels are at present under the management of private individuals who treat them as business concerns. Harijans being poor, are naturally put to a lot of difficulties in these hostels. I suggest therefore that the hostels must be managed by a committee consisting of philanthropists, sitting M.L.As., headmasters of schools and representatives of the local students of those schools, and they should not be under a single-man management. I wish also that in these Harijan hostels,

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Harijan Christians should be allowed, because they are also untouchables and they are also socially backward. Similarly, in Christian hostels which are getting Government grants, Harijans should be allowed. In Rayalaseema there are only a few hostels and so, more hostels should be opened in that area."

* SRI P. K. THIRUMURTHI :—"கனம் தலைவர் அவர்களே, எங்கள் தொகுதி பொள்ளாச்சி தாலுகாவில் கிராமங்களில் கிணறுகள் இல்லாமல் ஹரிஜனங்கள் மிகவும் கஷ்டப்பட்டுக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். இன்று அந்தப் பக்கத்திலுள்ள கிராமங்களில் சுமார் நூற்றுக்கு 25 கிராமங்களில் தான் இப்பொழுது கிணறுகள் இருந்து கொண்டிருக்கின்றன. பாக்கியுள்ள 75 கிராமங்களிலுள்ள கிணறுகள் இல்லாமல்தான் திட்டாடிக்கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். அங்கேயிருக்கிற ஹரிஜனங்கள் குடிப்பதற்கு தண்ணீர் வசதியின்றி ரொம்பவும் கஷ்டப்பட்டுக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். ஆகையால் எங்கள் தொகுதியிலுள்ள ஒவ்வொரு கிராமத்திற்கும் ஒவ்வொரு கிணறு வெட்டிக் கொடுத்து ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு குடி தண்ணீர் வசதியை அவசியம் செய்து கொடுக்க வேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் சர்க்காரைக் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்."

"பொள்ளாச்சி தாலுகாவிலுள்ள கிராமங்களில் இப்பொழுது இருந்து கொண்டிருக்கிற ஹரிஜனங்கள் ஆங்காங்குள்ள புறம்போக்கு நிலங்களை, கிரசாகக் கிடக்க விடாமல் அதில் சாகுபடி செய்து கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். ஆனால் அங்கேயுள்ள மணியக்காரர், கணக்குப் பிள்ளை, கவர்ன்மெண்டு உத்தியோகஸ்தர்கள் இவர்கள் எல்லோரும் ஒன்று சேர்ந்து கொண்டு, இப்பொழுது புறம்போக்கு நிலங்களை சாகுபடி செய்து கொண்டிருக்கிற அந்த ஹரிஜனங்களிடம் சென்று, "உங்களுக்கு ஏதாபா நிலம்? இதில் நீ எப்படி சாகுபடி செய்யலாம்," என்று சொல்லி நிலத்தில் விளைபவைகளை எடுத்துக்கொண்டு போய்விடுகிறார்கள். இப்படி கிராமங்களிலுள்ள மணியக்காரரும், கணக்குப்பிள்ளையுமாக சேர்ந்து கொண்டு நேற்றையற்ற முறையில் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு மிகவும் துன்பம் கொடுத்து வருகிறார்கள். ஆகையால் சர்க்கார் அந்த புறம்போக்கு நிலங்களை அவர்களிடமே கொடுத்து யாருடைய தொந்தரவும் இன்றி அவர்கள் சாகுபடி செய்வதற்கான ஏற்பாடுகளைச் செய்ய வேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்."

"அடுத்தபடியாக கோவை ஜில்லாவில் பொள்ளாச்சி தாலுக்காவில் முனிசிபாலிடி சிப்பந்திகள், தொழிலாளர்களுக்கு தற்சமயம் கொடுக்கிற சம்பளம் 32 ரூபாய்கள் தான். அங்கே மிகப் பெரும்பாலும் ஹரிஜனத் தொழிலாளிகள் தான் வேலை செய்து கொண்டு வருகிறார்கள். ஆகையால் அவர்களுக்குச் சம்பளம் மிகவும் குறைவாக இருப்பதால் ரொம்பவும் கஷ்டப்படுகிறார்கள். அந்த முனிசிபாலிடி ஹரிஜனத் தொழிலாளிகளுக்கு சம்பளத்தை 45 ரூபாயாகவாவது கொடுக்கும்படி சர்க்கார் ஏற்பாடு செய்ய வேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன். உடனடியாக அவர்கள் சம்பளத்தை 45 ரூபாயாக நிர்ணயிக்கவேண்டும்."

"ஆனைமலைத் தேயிலை தோட்டத் தொழிலாளர்கள் இன்றைக்குத் தங்கள் குழந்தைகளைப் படிக்க வைக்க வசதியின்றி ரொம்பவும் கஷ்டப்படுகிறார்கள். எஸ். எஸ். எல். லி. வரையில் படித்தவர்களும், அதில் பைலானவர்களும் இன்னும் பலரும் இன்று வேலை கிடைக்காமல் ரொம்பவும் கஷ்டப்படுகிறார்கள். ஆகையால் ஆனைமலைத் தொழிலாளர்களின் பிள்ளைகளுக்கு வேலை கிடைக்கும்படி சர்க்கார் ஏதாவது ஏற்பாடு செய்ய வேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன். அங்குள்ள தொழிலாளர்களில் நூற்றுக்கு 95 பேர்களுக்கு மேல் ஹரிஜனங்கள் இருக்கிறார்கள். ஆகையால் அவர்களது பிள்ளைகளுக்கு படிப்பதற்கு வேண்டிய சலுகைகளைச் செய்து கொடுக்க வேண்டுமென்பதாகவும் நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். பொள்ளாச்சியைச் சேர்ந்த ஆனைமலைப்பிரதேசத்தில் ஐனத் தொகை சுமார் 65 ஆயிரத்துக்கு மேல் இருக்கிறது. ஆனால் அங்கே ஒரே ஒரு ஹாஸ்டல் தான் இருக்கிறது. போதுமான மாணவர்கள் அதில் சேர்வ

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p.m.

[Sri R. K. Thirumurthi]

[24th July 1952]

தற்கு இடம் போதவில்லை. ஆகையால் இன்னும் சில ஹாஸ்டல்கள் கட்ட வேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன். அந்த ஹாஸ்டலில் இப்பொழுது 25 பிள்ளைகள் தான் இருக்கிறார்கள். இது போதாது. குறைந்தது 50 மாணவர்களாவது இருப்பதற்குத் தக்க வசதியைச் செய்து கொடுக்கவேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன். மேலும் நிறைய பேர்களுக்கு ஸ்காலர்ஷிப்பும் கொடுக்கவேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“இப்பொழுது தோட்டத் தொழிலாளருக்கும், 'சர்க்கார் சிங்கோனா தோட்டத் தொழிலாளருக்கும் ஒரு நாள் கூலி ரூ. 1-5-9 ஆக இருக்கிறது. இந்தக் கூலி ரொம்பவும் குறைவாக இருப்பதால் தொழிலாளர்கள் ரொம்பவும் கஷ்டப்படுகிறார்கள். ஆகையால் அவர்களுக்கு நாள் ஒன்றுக்கு இப்போது இருப்பதை விட அதிகமான கூலி கொடுக்கவேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் கேட்டுக்கொண்டு என் பேச்சை முடித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

(At this stage the Deputy Speaker occupied the chair.)

*SRI A. VELOO :—“கனம் உதவி பேரநாயகர் அவர்களே, கனம் ராமசாமி நாடார் அவர்கள் கொண்டு வந்திருக்கும் வெட்டுப் பிரேரணையை ஆதரித்த சில வார்க்கைகளைச் சொல்ல விரும்புகிறேன். ஹரிஜனங்கள் அநேக நூற்றாண்டுகளாக பலவிதமாக கஷ்டங்களுக்கு உள்பட்டிருக்கிறார்கள். தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட சமுதாயத்தினர்கள் என்றும் அவர்களுக்கு பெயர் கொடுத்துக் கொண்டும் வந்தார்கள். அவ்விதம் தாழ்த்தப்பட்டிருந்தவர்களுடைய வாழ்க்கையை உயர்த்தி அவர்கள் மற்றவர்களுடன் சமமான நிலையை அடைய வேண்டும் என்பது காந்தியின் நிர்மாண திட்டத்தில் ஒன்று என்று ஹரிஜன முன்னேற்றத்தைக் கொண்டு வந்தார்கள். அந்தக் கொள்கையை நழுவ விடாமல் பாதுகாத்து வரும் நமது முதல் மந்திரியின் நோக்கத்தை நான் பாராட்டுகிறேன். எனினும் இந்த நோக்கம் பரிபூரணமாக நடைபெறவில்லை என்பதை நான் மிகவும் வருத்தத்துடன் தெரிவித்துக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“நமது அரசியல் திட்டத்தில் பத்து ஆண்டுகளுக்குள் தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட மக்கள் பரிபூரண அந்தஸ்து உடையவர்களாக இருக்கவேண்டும் என்று குறிப்பிட்டிருக்கிறது. ஆகவே ஹரிஜன முன்னேற்றத்திற்காக ஆண்டுதோறும் ஏராளமான பணத்தைச் செலவு பண்ணுவதாக புள்ளி விவரங்கள் கொடுப்பதாக இருக்கிறதே தவிர உறுப்படியான வேலை ஒன்றும் நடைபெறவில்லை. ஹரிஜன முன்னேற்றத்திற்காக ஒதுக்கப்படும் பெரும் தொகையில் பெரிய பாகம் அந்த இலாகாவில் வேலை செய்யக்கூடிய உத்தியோகஸ்தர்களுடைய சம்பளத்திற்காகவும் அவ்வளவுக்காகவும் செலவாகிக்கொண்டு வருகிறது. அதில் உறுப்படியான முன்னேற்ற வேலை எதுவும் நடைபெறவில்லை. அதற்குக் காரணம் அந்த இலாகாவில் ஹரிஜன முன்னேற்றத்தில் அக்கரை கொண்ட ஹரிஜன ஆபீசர் இல்லாததால் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு உறுப்படியான வேலை ஒன்றும் நடைபெறவில்லை. ஹரிஜனங்கள் பிறவியாலும் தன்னுடைய தலை விதியின் காரணமாகவும் அவர்கள் தாழ்த்தப்பட்டிருக்கிறார்கள், என்று நினைக்கும் புராணப் பற்றுள்ள இரக்கயற்ற உத்தியோகஸ்தர்கள் இருப்பதாலும் அந்த டிபார்ட்மென்டின் மூலம் யாதொரு முன்னேற்றமும் இல்லை. இவ்வித நிலையில் அவர்கள் இருக்கும்போது அவர்கள் எதிர்பார்த்தது போல் இருக்க அந்த இலாகாவில் ஒரு ஹரிஜன உத்தியோகஸ்தர் இல்லாததால் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு என்று ஒதுக்கிவைக்கப்பட்ட தொகையை செலவு செய்ய தனி டிபார்ட்மெண்டு அமைத்தும் ஹரிஜனங்கள் யாதொரு நன்மையையும் அடைய முடியவில்லை. இப்பொழுது எட்டு ஜில்லாக்களில் டிபுடி கலெக்டர்கள் ஹரிஜன வேலையை கவனித்துக்கொண்டு வருகிறார்கள். பதினைந்து தாசில் தாரர்கள் அந்த வேலையை கவனித்துக்கொண்டு வருகிறார்கள். அவர்களில் ஒருவராக ஹரிஜன் இல்லை என்பதைக் குறிப்பிடவேண்டியதாக இருக்கிறது. ஹரிஜன முன்னேற்ற வேலையில் சர்க்காரின் வேலை நன்றாக நடக்கவேண்டுமென்றால் அதற்கு அமைக்கப்பட்ட ஹரிஜன் Welfare Department-ல் நூறுக்கு 75 % ஹரிஜனங்களாகவே நியமனம் செய்யவேண்டும் என்று நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

24th July 1952]

[Sri A. Veloo]

“அது மாத்திரமல்ல. Hindu Religious Endowments Board, Service Commission, Revenue Board, Railway Board, Employment Exchange முதலிய Selection செய்யும் டிபார்ட்மெண்ட்களிலெல்லாம் ஹரிஜனங்களுைய நியமிக்க வேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன். நாம் சாதந்தரம் அடைந்த பின்னர் தஞ்சை ஜில்லாவில் ஆதிதிராவிட மக்கள் மாண பங்கமாக நடத்தப்ப்டார்கள். அப்போது அங்கு இருந்த ஜில்லா கலெக்டருக்கும் ஜில்லா சூப்பரெண்டன்டுக்கும் தகவல் கொடுத்தும் அவர்கள் சய நலமிகளான மிராசதாரர்களுக்கு உதவியாக இருந்ததால் அவர்கள் ஒரு நடவடிக்கையும் எடுத்துக் கொள்ளவில்லை. ஆகவே மக்களைக் கேட்டு அங்கு நடந்த கொடுமைகளை விசாரணைக்கு கொண்டு வரவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக் கொண்டு இத்துடன் முடித்துக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

* SRI R. THANGAVELU :—“கனம் உதவி சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே இன்றைய தினம் ஹரிஜன முன்னேற்ற மந்திரி அவர்கள் கொண்டு வந்திருக்கும் இந்த தீர்மானத்தை ஆதரித்து சில வார்த்தைகளைப் பேச முன் வந்திருக்கிறேன். காங்கிரஸ் கவர்ன்மெண்டு ஏற்பட்ட பிறகு ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு கிடைத்திருக்கும் நன்மைகளைப் பற்றி இந்த சமயத்தில் நான் சொல்லவேண்டியதவசியமில்லை. ஆயிரக் கணக்கான வருடங்களாய் சேற்றில் அழிந்து கிடந்த ஹரிஜன மக்களை மேலே தூக்கிக்கொண்டு வந்திருக்கிறார்கள். ஆகவே என்னைப்போன்ற ஹரிஜன மக்கள் இந்த காங்கிரஸ் சர்க்காரை என்டென்னைக்கும் ஆதரிப்பார்கள் என்று உறுதியாகக் கூறுகிறேன்.

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p.m.

“தவிர ரென்னை மாகாணத்தில் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு புரம்போக்கு நிலங்களை அடமானம் செய்யும்படியாக சர்க்கார் திட்டமிட்டிருக்கிறார்கள். இப்பொழுது சிலருக்கு அடமானம் செய்தும் பட்டா செய்யப்பட்டுமிருக்கிறது. அந்த நிலங்களெல்லாம் இப்பொழுது சாகுபடி செய்யப்படாமல் கரம்பையாக இருக்கின்றன. காரணம் என்னவென்றால் ஆறு வருஷ காலமாக மழை இல்லாததால் அந்த நிலங்கள் கரம்பையாக இருக்கின்றன. ஆகையினால் சர்க்கார் இந்த ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு பண உதவி செய்து கொடுத்து அதாவது நீண்ட கால கடன் கொடுத்து கிணறுகள் வெட்டிக் கொள்ளும்படியாக செய்தால் அந்தந்த நிலங்களையெல்லாம் சீக்கிரத்தில் சாகுபடிக்குக் கொண்டு வர முடியும்.

“இரண்டாவதாக வட ஆற்காடு ஜில்லாவில் அநேகம் கிராமங்களில் ஆதி திராவிட மக்கள் குடியிருக்க வசதி இல்லாமல் கஷ்டப்பட்டுக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். அதற்காக ஜில்லா அதிகாரிகளுக்கு மனு செய்திருக்கிறார்கள். அதன் பேரில் ஜில்லா அதிகாரிகள் கொடுத்த உத்தரவின் பேரில் ஹரிஜன மக்கள் பணம் திரட்டி அங்கங்குள்ள கஜானைகளில் செலுத்தி இருக்கிறார்கள். அவ்விதம் செலுத்தி மூன்று, நான்கு வருஷங்களாகியும் அந்த ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு இன்னும் இது வரையில் எந்த வீட்டு வசதிக்கும் மனைக் கட்டுகள் கொடுக்கவே இல்லை. இது ரொம்பவும் வருத்தப்படக்கூடிய விஷயம்.

“வட ஆற்காட்டில் திருவண்ணாமலை தாலுகா, செங்கம் தாலுகாக்களில் சுமார் 300 கிராமங்களுக்குள்ளேன். அந்த முன்னூறு கிராமங்களிலும் ஹரிஜனங்கள் வாசம் செய்து வருகின்றார்கள். அந்த ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு அந்த கிராமங்களில் ஐந்தாம் வகுப்பிற்கு மேல் படிக்க வசதி கிடையாது. திருவண்ணாமலை டவுனில் மூன்று ஹைஸ்கூல்கள் இருக்கின்றன. இந்த கிராம ஹரிஜன மாணவர்கள் இந்தப் பள்ளிக்கூடங்களுக்கு வந்து உயர்ந்த படிப்பு படிக்க ஆசைப்படுகிறார்கள். அதற்கு போதுமான வசதி இல்லை. சாப்பாட்டிற்கு வசதி இல்லை. இருந்து படிக்க வசதி இல்லை. ஆகவே காரணய சர்க்கார் ஹரிஜனங்கள் மீது கிருபை செய்து திருவண்ணாமலையில் ஒரு ஹரிஜன ஆஸ்டீல் கொஞ்ச காலத்திற்கு ஏற்படுத்திக் கொடுக்கவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“தவிர இன்று இன்னொரு முக்கியமான விஷயம் இருக்கிறது. அந்த விஷயத்தை இந்த சபையில் சொல்ல ஆசைப்படுகிறேன். ஆனால் டயம் இல்லாததால்...

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SRI P. THANGAVELU :—“ Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, in supporting the cut motion, I wish to make a few observations regarding the miserable plight of the Harijans in our State. The very word ‘ Harijan ’ was coined as early as 1933 by the Father of our Nation to give a better social status and recognition to a particular section of our community but the condition of the Harijans continues to be the same even to-day. True, our Constitution has abolished untouchability and its practice in any form has been forbidden, but every one of the Members of this House knows how far this provision of the Constitution has been put into actual practice. The Harijans are not really treated as respectable citizens. I am sorry to say that they are treated worse than animals and even worse than the slaves of ancient Rome. What exactly might be the reason for this unchanging attitude on the part of the Caste-Hindus towards the so-called untouchables, the Government must find out, and they must suggest ways and means to bring these unfortunate people to the level of the so-called caste-Hindus.

“ I wish to touch upon the discrimination that obtains between the Hindu Harijans and Harijans converted to Christianity. Christian converts from the Harijan community are not given the same privileges, facilities and concessions as are given to the Hindu Harijans regarding their admission in educational institutions as well as in recruitment to Government services. Converts to other religions from the scheduled classes are as much entitled to the privileges and concessions that are given to the Hindu Harijans because every one will agree that on account of a change of faith, these people cannot be considered to have economically or otherwise improved their position. This discrimination against these people should not be continued hereafter. Article 15 of the Constitution provides that no discrimination merely on the ground of birth, race or religion must be made, and according to that provision of the Constitution, Christians converted from Scheduled Castes must be given the same preference as is given to the Harijans of the Hindu community. There are schools for Harijans, namely, Labour schools, in certain select areas in the districts. In these schools poor Harijan boys are supplied with mid-day meals but in the case of Harijan convert boys, they are not supplied with the mid-day meals. I request, Sir, that these poor Harijan boys also should be supplied with mid-day meals.

“ Coming to the question of Backward communities I feel it is no exaggeration to say that there is not much difference between the members of the Backward communities and the Harijans except for the fact that the members belonging to the Backward communities are not considered as untouchables but the Harijans are considered to be untouchables. But regarding the sufferings under which these people labour, the condition is more or less the same, and they suffer to the same extent as do the Harijans. The backward communities form more or less 60 per cent of the population. Considering this aspect of the matter, I must submit that the sum allotted in the Budget is very negligible indeed. I request the Government to allot more money according to their

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strength in the population of the State in order that they may be helped by way of fee concessions, scholarships, etc. In regard to admission to educational institutions, 25 per cent of the seats has been allotted to the Backward communities. I submit that the reservation is not enough, and it should be increased in proportion to the strength of the Backward communities in the population. In giving effect to these reservations, the members belonging to the Backward communities are admitted into the educational institutions or are recruited to Government service, in the first instance on the basis of merit and efficiency. But, if, working on that footing, the percentage allotted to that community is reached, they stop with that and no further recruitment or admission from those communities is made. I request that students from the Backward communities, in addition to admission to their reservation on the percentage allotted to them, might also be allowed to compete with other communities purely on the basis of merit and efficiency."

*SRI L. ANANDAN :—“கனம் சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே, இந்த மான்யத்தை நான் ஆதரிக்கின்றேன். தென்னாற்காடு ஜில்லாவில் ஹரிஜனங்கள் மிகவும் பிற்போக்கான நிலைமையில் இருக்கிறார்கள். ஹரிஜன மக்கள் குடியிருக்க வீடில்லாமலும், குடிதண்ணீர் வசதியில்லாமலும், உழுது பயிர் செய்ய நிலமில்லாமலும் மிகவும் கஷ்டப்படுகிறார்கள். ஆகவே, நில மில்லாத ஏழை ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு நிலம் கொடுத்து, குடியிருக்க வசதியும், குடி தண்ணீர் வசதியும் செய்து தர வேண்டுமென்று சர்க்காரைக் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.”

“என்னுடைய தொகுதியிலிருக்கும் ஹரிஜன மக்களுக்கு கல்வியறிவு என்பதே கிடையாது. அதுவும் எங்கள் தாலுகாவில் இரண்டு ஹைஸ்கூல்கள்தான் இருக்கின்றன. கள்ளக்குறிச்சியில் மட்டும் ஒரு ஹரிஜன ஹாஸ்டல் ஒரு வருஷமாக சுமார் 30 மாணவர்களுக்கு உணவளித்து வருகிறது. நாள்தோறும் அந்த ஹாஸ்டலுக்கு அங்கிகாரம் அளிக்கப்படவில்லை. ஆகையால், உடனடியாக அந்த ஹாஸ்டலுக்கு மான்யம் கொடுத்தும், கல்வியில் பிற்போக்காகவுள்ள பரம ஏழையான ஹரிஜன மாணவர்களுக்கு உபகாரச் சம்பளம்கெடுத்து, ஹாஸ்டல் ஆகாரச் செலவுகளையும் சர்க்காரே ஏற்று, ஹரிஜன மாணவர்களை முன்னுக்குக் கொண்டு வரும்படி, ஹரிஜன முன்னேற்றத்தில் அக்கரை கொண்ட கனம் ராஜாஜி சர்க்காரை கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.”

“கள்ளக்குறிச்சி தாலுகாவில் மின்சார வசதி என்பதே இல்லை. மக்கள் மிகவும் கஷ்டப்படுகிறார்கள். ஆகவே, உடனடியாக மின்சார வசதி செய்து, உணவு உற்பத்திக்கு உதவுமாறும் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.”

*SRI M. PALANIANDI :—“கனம் உதவி சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே, ஸ்ரீ ராமசாமி நாடார் அவர்கள் கொண்டுவந்த வெட்டுப் பிரேரணையை ஆதரித்துப் பேசும் காலத்தில், ஹரிஜன முன்னேற்றத்திற்கென்று ஐந்தாண்டுகளாக எவ்வளவோ ரூபாய் செலவழித்தாலும்கூட, அவர்கள் முன்னுக்கு வரவில்லையென்றதான் சொல்லவேண்டிய நிலையில் இருக்கிறது. காங்கிரஸ் கட்சியோ, மற்ற கட்சியாரோ சரிவர கிராமங்களில் சென்று பிரசாரம் செய்து, அதற்கு வேண்டிய முயற்சிகளை எடுத்துக்கொள்ளவில்லையென்பது தெரியும்.”

“ஜில்லா போர்டு தேர்தல் நடந்த காலத்தில் மக்கள் சொன்னார்கள்; அதாவது உயர்ந்த ஜாதியார் என்று சொல்லிக்கொள்பவர்கள், “என்னைவோட்டுப்போடு என்று கேட்கிறீர்கள்? பள்ளியையும் பறையையும் ஒன்றாக்விட்ட காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களுக்கு நாங்கள் ஏன் வோட்டுப் போடவேண்டும்?” என்று சொன்னார்கள். தீண்டாமை ஒழிப்பைப்பற்றி மக்களிடையே

[Sri M. Palaniandi]

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சரியானபடி பிரசாரம் செய்யாத காரணத்தினால், இந்தத் திட்டம் சரிவர கிராமங்களில் அனுசரிக்கப்படாமல் இருக்கின்றது. காங்கிரஸ் சரியானபடி பிரசாரம் செய்திருந்தால் ஹரிஜனங்கள் கொஞ்சம் முன்னேற்றமடைந்திருக்க முடியும். கோவிலில் அவர்கள் நுழையக்கூடாது என்று இன்னும் ஜாதி இந்துக்களால் சொல்லப்படுகிறது. அதைத் தடுப்பதற்கு சர்க்கார் சட்டம் கொண்டுவந்தும் அது சரிவர அமல் நடத்தப்படவில்லை. ஹரிஜனங்கள் தண்ணீர் எடுக்கக்கூடாது என்று தடுக்கப்படுகிறார்கள். ஹரிஜனங்கள் இது விஷயத்தை ஆபீசர்களுக்கோ, காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களிடமோ தெரிவித்து விட்டால், அடுத்தநாள் பண்ணையில் வேலை செய்வவனுக்கு நிலம் கிடையாது என்று விரட்டியடிக்கப்படுகிறான். இம்மாதிரியாக ஹரிஜனங்கள் சமூகத்தில் தாழ்த்தப்பட்டிருக்கிறார்கள். ஆகவே, பொருளாதாரத்தில் அவர்கள் முன்னேற்றமடையும்படிச் செய்யவேண்டும். பொருளாதாரத்தில் அவர்கள் உயர்வை அடையாமல், அவர்களுக்குக் கோவிலைமட்டும் திறந்துவிட்டால் போதாது. ஆகையால், அவர்களுக்கு வேண்டிய நல்ல புறம்போக்கு நிலங்களில் இரண்டு ஏக்கராவது ஒவ்வொருவருக்கும் கொடுக்கப்படவேண்டும்.

“உண்மையாகச் சொல்லுகிறேன், 375 அங்கத்தினர்களும் சேர்ந்து கொண்டு கிராமம் கிராமமாகச் சென்று அவர்களுக்கு வேண்டிய சௌகரியங்களைச் செய்து அவர்களுடைய குறைகளை நிவர்த்திக்க பாடுபட்டால், நிச்சயமாக ஏழை ஹரிஜனங்களுடைய நிலைமையை ஐந்து ஆண்டுகளுக்குள் உயர்த்திவிடமுடியும். அதற்குச் சரியான பிரசார இயந்திரம் வேண்டும்.

“கடவுளைப்பற்றிப் பேசும்போது ஆசையாகத்தான் இருக்கிறது. ஆனால், ஹரிஜனங்கள் என்ன பொருளாதாரத்தில் முன்னேற்றமடைந்தாலும் கூட, ஜாதி இந்துக்கள் அவர்களை சமமாக ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளமாட்டார்கள். அந்த மனப்பான்மை மாறவேண்டும். கனம் சபாநாயகர் ஸ்ரீ சிவசுப்ரமணியம் பிள்ளை அவர்கள் 4 ஆண்டுகளுக்கு முன்பு திருச்சிக் கு வந்தபோது, அவரை அய்யம் பானையத்திற்கு அழைத்துச் சென்றோம். அவரையே கோவிலில் நுழையக் கூடாதென்று தடுத்துவிட்டார்கள். அடுத்தநாள்தான் அவர் சத்தியாகிரகம் செய்து கோவிலில் நுழைந்தார். சபாநாயகர் பதவியில் இருக்கக் கூடிய அவரையே கோவிலில் நுழையக்கூடாதென்று தடுத்த நிறுத்தி விட்டார்களென்றால், சாதாரண ஏழைகளால் என்ன செய்யமுடியும்? மனப்பதைக் கொஞ்சம் யோசித்துப் பார்க்கவேண்டும். ஆகையால், சட்டத்தினால் மட்டும் ஒன்றும் செய்துவிடமுடியாது. ஜாதி இந்துக்களின் அடிப்படை எண்ணங்களே மாறவேண்டும். ஹரிஜனங்கள்பால் அவர்களுக்கு மனமாற்றம் ஏற்படவேண்டும். அதற்குப் போதிய பிரசாரம் வேண்டும். ஹரிஜனங்கள் பொருளாதாரத்திலும், கல்வியிலும் இன்னும் எல்லாத் துறைகளிலும் முன்னேற்றம் அடையும்படிச் செய்யவேண்டும்.

“மால்வாய் கிராமத்தில் 30 வீடுகள் சூரையாடப்பட்டன. அவர்கள் தண்ணீர் எடுத்ததன் காரணமாக உயர்ந்த ஜாதிக்காரர்கள் சிறை செய்யப் பட்டார்கள். 2, 3 கேல்கள் போடப்பட்டன. கேல்கள் என்ன ஆயிறு? நீதியும், நிர்வாகமும் இரண்டும் சேர்ந்திருப்பதன் காரணமாக, 2, 3 கேல்கள் தள்ளப்பட்டன. தள்ளப்பட்டபடியானபிறகு, இன்னும் அவர்கள் தவித்துக்கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். 10 கிராமங்களில் அவர்களுக்கு வேலை கொடுப்பது கிடையாது, தண்ணீர் எடுத்ததன் காரணமாக. ஆகையால் ஜாதி இந்துக்களின் மனம் மாறவேண்டும்.

“ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு இரண்டு ஏக்கர் நிலம் கொடுத்தாலும்கூட, மற்றவர்களிடம் மனமாற்றம் ஏற்பட்டால்தான் அவர்கள் சரிவர வாழக்கை நடத்த முடியும். ஆகையால் காங்கிரஸ் கட்சியிலிருந்தாலும் சரி, மற்ற கட்சியிலிருந்தாலும் சரி, ஹரிஜன முன்னேற்றம் சம்பந்தமாக எல்லோரும் ஒன்று பட்டு காரியங்களை நடத்தவேண்டும். இங்கிருக்கும் எல்லோரும் சேர்ந்து கொண்டு, பிரசாரம் செய்து, எப்படியாவது ஹரிஜனங்கள் முன்னுக்கு வந்து விடவேண்டுமென்பதைக் குறிக்கோளாகக் கொள்ளவேண்டும். கிராமங்களில் அவர்கள் இன்று நடுங்கி, ஒடுங்கி, சப்தநாடியும் அடங்கிக்கொண்டிருந்தால், அவர்கள் எப்படி இந்த நாட்டில் வாழமுடியும்? அரசாங்கம் ஹரிஜன மக்களின் முன்னேற்றத்திற்கான காரியங்களைச் செய்யவேண்டும். சரியான பிரசாரத்தையும் செய்யவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொண்டு, வெட்டுப் பிரேரணையை ஆதரித்து என்னுடைய பேச்சை முடித்துக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.”

24th July 1952]

*SRI G. SURYANARAYANA :—“అధ్యక్ష, దేశములో హరిజన సమస్యలు యీనాటివి కావు. కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వం ఈ సమస్యల పరిష్కారము విషయమై అనేకము చెప్పబడినాగాని ప్రత్యక్షంగా చేసింది మాత్రం తుస్యం. ఆస్పృశ్యత నివారణ చట్టము ప్రభుత్వమువారు పెట్టారు. ఈ దేశములో యీ ఆస్పృశ్యత నివారణకు చోటులేదు. యీ చట్టము అమలులో పెట్టబడిందేగాని దానిని పాటించినవారు ఎవ్వరు ఉన్నట్టు కనబడుటలేదు. ఈ సందర్భములో యీ చట్టము తున్నను ఒకటి, లేకున్నను ఒకటేనని చెప్పగలము. ఈ రాష్ట్రములో హరిజనాధిపత్య వింతవరకు వెందింది అంటే, ఆ విషయంలో కూడా progress విమాత్రం కనపడదు. ఈ హరిజనులందరు పూర్వము విలాసమున్నారో, యిప్పుడు ఆదే విధముగానున్నారని గట్టిగా చెప్పగలము. హరిజనుల విషయములో అంటరానితనం అనేది గ్రామములలో యింకా పోలేదు. ఒక ఉదాహరణ చెప్పవలసివచ్చింది. ఈ రాష్ట్రములో విశాఖపట్నం, శ్రీకాకుళం జిల్లాలలో యీ నాటికినూడా పల్లికుబావులలోగాని, కోనేరులలోగాని హరిజనులకు తాళలేదు. ముఖ్యంగా యీ హరిజనులకు ఎట్టి నీటి సౌకర్యాలు ఎక్కడనూలేవు. గ్రామాలలో యీనాటివరకున్నూ పల్లికు బావులు, కోనేరులు తున్నచోటు, యీ హరిజనులు ఉపయోగించుటకు అర్హత లేకుండాపోయింది. యీ నాటికిన్నీ గ్రామములో కరణం మిద్దలైన పలుకుబడిగల రైతులు, యితర కులములవారు యీ హరిజనులు గ్రామములోనికి వెళ్ళివచ్చుడు, యింకనూ పూర్వపద్ధతులను విడువకుండా తుండగలందులకు యీ హరిజనులమీద దౌర్జన్యములుగూడా చేస్తున్నారు. గ్రామములలో ఇప్పటికిని విదో విధమున అడ్డంకులు పెట్టి యీ హరిజనులకు స్వేచ్ఛ లేకుండా చేస్తున్నారు. ప్రభుత్వంవారు పెట్టిన ఆస్పృశ్యత నివారణ చట్టము అమలులోకి వచ్చినప్పటికీ, గ్రామములలో మంగలిపావులలోగాని, దేవాలయములలోగాని పల్లికు స్థలములు వగైరా చోట్లలోగాని యింకనూ హరిజనులకు చోటు లేకుండా తున్నది. ప్రభుత్వం నెలకు ఒకసారి హరిజన దినోత్సవం జరిపించవలసిందని ఆయా స్థానిక ఉద్యోగులకు ఉత్తరవులు చేసింది. ఆ కార్యక్రమం ఎక్కడ తరతరకుండ అబద్ధపు రిపోర్టులు వ్రాస్తున్నారు. దేవాలయంలోకివచ్చి ఉత్సవములు చేసినట్లు Endowments Board వారికి వ్రాస్తున్నారేగాని, నిజముగా ఈ హరిజనులకు గ్రామములలో స్వేచ్ఛలేకుండా తున్నది. గనుక ప్రభుత్వంవారు యీ విషయములో యీ హరిజనులకొరకు తగిన తుత్తరువులు పంపగలందులకు కోరుతున్నాను. ఇదియనూగాక యీ హరిజనులకు గ్రామ ఉద్యోగాలను అనగా, మున్సిబు, కరణం ప్రద్యోగాలను యిచ్చినవడల యీ ఆస్పృశ్యత కొంతవరకు నివారణమగునని నా నమ్మకము. ఈ హరిజనుల ఆస్పృశ్యత నివారణ చట్టము ఎంతవరకు ఉపయోగపడిందనే విషయమై యింతవరకూ ప్రభుత్వంవారు శ్రద్ధవుచ్చు కొన్నట్టులేదు. అందువల్ల యీ హరిజనులకు స్థానిక ఉద్యోగాలలో ఎక్కువ ప్రాతినిధ్యము యివ్వవలెనని కోరుతున్నాను. గ్రామములలో ఈ హరిజనులపై దౌర్జన్యాలుచేసి వారిమీద అబద్ధపు రిపోర్టులు చేయిస్తున్నారు. మా విశాఖపట్నం, శ్రీకాకుళం జిల్లాలలోను, నియోజకవర్గంలోని విజయనగరం తాలూకాలో కూడా యీ హరిజనులకు దౌర్జన్యాలు జరిగినవిగాని ఎక్కడ కూడా నిరాపిచబడలేదు.

“ఇకపోలే యీ హరిజనులకు బంజరు భూములు యిచ్చే విషయములో ప్రభుత్వమువారు పడేపడే ప్రకటనలు చేస్తున్నారు పేపర్లలో అర్బులు, ప్రకటనకేగాని, క్రియాశూన్యంగా ఉన్నది. మా విశాఖపట్నం, శ్రీకాకుళం జిల్లాలలో ఉన్నట్టువంటి వేలకొలది బంజరు భూములకొరకు వందలకొలది దరఖాస్తులు పెట్టారు. ఇంతవరకూ యీదరఖాస్తులలో ఒకటికూడా పరిష్కారము కాలేదు. ఈ దరఖాస్తులు చాలామట్టుకు

24th July 1952]

[Sri S. Arumugam]

“ வீடு கட்டிக்கொள்ள இடமில்லாமல் ஹரிஜன மக்கள் மிகவும் கஷ்டப்படுகிறார்கள். அவர்களுக்கு வேண்டிய வசதிகளைச் செய்துகொடுக்க வேண்டுமென்பதாகவும் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். குறிப்பாக வீடு கட்டிக்கொள்ள இடமில்லாமல் திருச்செங்கோடு தாலுகாவில் சங்ககிரி என்ற சேரி மலைகளிமீது குன்றுகள் மீதும் வீடுகளைக் கட்டிக்கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். காற்று அதிகமாக அடித்தாலோ, மழை பெய்தாலோ மலைகள் சரிந்து விழுந்து அந்த மக்களுக்கு அபாயமளிக்கும். ஆகையால் உடனேயே அவர்களை அந்த இடத்தைவிட்டு அகற்றி கிராமங்களில் அவர்களுக்கு இடம் தேடித் தரவேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் கேட்டுக்கொண்டு என் பேச்சை முடித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

*SRI A. AYYARU :—“ கனம் சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே : தாழ்த்தப்பட்டவர்களுடைய கஷ்டங்களைப்பற்றி என் தோழர்கள் எவ்வளவோ எடுத்துச் சொல்லியிருக்கிறார்கள். ஆனால் நம் அரசாங்கமும் மஹாத்மா காந்தி அவர்கள் சொன்னதுபோலவே தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட மக்களின் முன்னேற்றத்திற்காக பல சட்டங்களைச் செய்திருக்கிறார்கள். ஆனால் அவர்கள் போடும் சட்டங்கள் எல்லாம் சட்டப் புல்தகங்களில்தான் இருந்துகொண்டிருக்கின்றன. சாரணம் என்னவென்றால் அந்தச் சட்டங்களை அமுல் நடத்தும் ஒவ்வொரு ஜில்லாவிலும் இருக்கின்ற அதிகாரிகள் சரியாக நடந்துகொள்வதில்லை. அரசாங்கத்திற்கு அதிகமான ஊழல்களை ஏற்படுத்திவிட்டார்கள். அந்த ஊழல்களைப் போக்குவதற்கு நம் அரசாங்கம் மிகவும் கவனமாக வேலை செய்யவேண்டும். அந்தந்த ஜில்லாக்களிலிருக்கிற அதிகாரிகள் அந்தந்த ஜில்லாக்களிலுள்ள தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட வகுப்பினருக்கு என்ன நன்மைகளைச் செய்திருக்கிறார்கள் ? இதுவரையிலும் அவர்களுக்குச் செய்திருக்கும் காரியங்கள் என்னென்ன ?” என்பதாக வருஷந்தோறும் கேட்டால்தான் அவர்களுக்கும் கொஞ்சம் பயம் ஏற்படும். நன்மை என்னென்ன செய்கிறார்களோ என்று எடுத்துச் சொல்லவேண்டுமே யென்பதற்காகவாவது ஏதாவது காரியங்களைச் செய்துகொண்டே யிருப்பார்கள். அப்பொழுதுதான் தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட மக்கள் முற்போக்கு அடைவதற்கு வழியெற்படும் என்பதாக நான் திணித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“ இதைப்போலவே ஒவ்வொரு ஜில்லாவிலும் இருக்கின்ற கல்வி அதிகாரிகளுக்கு வருஷந்தோறும், “எந்தெந்த வகுப்பிலே எவ்வளவு ஹரிஜன மாணவர்களை சேர்த்துக்கொண்டிருக்கிறீர்கள். எத்தனை மாணவர்கள் காலேஜில் சேர்ந்திருக்கிறார்கள். எத்தனை மாணவர்கள் டிரைனில் ஸ்கூலில் சேர்ந்திருக்கிறார்கள்” என்பதான விஷயங்களை உணுக்குடன் அனுப்பி வைக்கும்படி சர்க்கார் கேட்டுக்கொண்டால்தான், ஜில்லாக்களிலுள்ள அதிகாரிகள் ஹரிஜன மாணவர்களுக்கு அதிகமான நன்மைகளைச் செய்வார்கள். இதையும் சர்க்கார் செய்யவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“ அடுத்தபடியாக நம் மாகாணத்திலுள்ள நிலங்களின் வரிக்கையெல்லாம் வசூலிப்பதும், சர்க்கார் உத்தரவுகளை கிராமங்களில் பரப்புவதுமான தொழிலை கிராம அதிகாரிகளுக்குக் கொடுத்திருக்கிறோம். மணியக்காரர்; கணக்குப்பள்ளி இவர்கள் தான் இப்பொழுது இந்தத் தொழிலைச் செய்துகொண்டு வருகிறார்கள். இவர்களுக்கு உதவியாக தலையாறி, வெட்டியான் போன்ற சிப்பந்திகளையும் நியமித்திருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்கள் வசூலித்துத் தரும் தீர்வைப்பணத்தை தலையாரிகள் கொண்டுபோய் கட்டிவிட்டு வருகிறார்கள். இவர்களுக்கு இப்பொழுது மாதம் ஒன்றுக்கு 11 ரூபாய்கள் சம்பளம் கொடுக்கப்படுகிறது. ஒரு மனிதன் வயிற்றை வளர்ப்பதற்கு இது கட்டுமா ? இந்தப்பணத்தை வைத்துக்கொண்டு அவர்கள் என்ன செய்வார்கள் ? பெரும்பாலும் ஹரிஜனங்கள்தான் இந்தவேலையில் இருக்கிறார்கள். ஆகையால் தயவுசெய்து சர்க்கார் இந்த தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட கிராம அதிகாரிகளின் சம்பளத்தை அதிகப்படுத்தித் தரவேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“அடுத்தபடியாக உடையார்பாளையம் தாலுகாவில் ஹரிஜன மக்கள் ரொம்பவும் பிற்போக்கான நிலைமையில் கஷ்டப்பட்டுக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். அதை நான் சொல்லவேண்டியதில்லை. அதை கனம் மந்திரிகள் நன்றாக

[Sri A. Ayyaru]

[24th July 1952]

உணர்ந்திருப்பார்கள். வெள்ளையர் ஆட்சி காலத்தில் சொன்னார்கள். காங்கிரஸ் ஆட்சி வந்துவிட்டால் ஹரிஜன மக்கள் தெருக்களில் போகும்போது சுரைக்குடுக்கையை தோளில் மாட்டிக்கொண்டுதான் எச்சில் உயிழ நேரிடும் என்று சென்ற ஐந்த ஆண்டுகளாக காங்கிரஸ் ஆட்சியில் அதேமாதிரி ஆகிவிட்டது. உடையார்பாளையம் தாலுகாவில் தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட ஹரிஜன மக்கள் எந்த இடத்திற்கும் போக உரிமையிடையாது. ஆகையால் சர்க்கார் இதில் தக்க நடவடிக்கைகளை எடுத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டுமென்பதாகக் கேட்டுக்கொண்டு என் பேச்சை முடித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

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p.m.

SRI A. VAIKUNTAM:—“கனம் மந்திரி அவர்கள் கொண்டுவந்திருக்கும் மான்யத்தை ஆதரிக்கிறேன். ராமகைபுரம் ஜில்லா ஒரு பஞ்சப் பிரதேசம் என்று எனக்கு முன்பு பல அங்கத்தினர்கள் பேசியிருக்கிறார்கள். அதிலும் ஸ்ரீவில்லிபுத்தூர் தாலுகாவில் மிகவும் பஞ்சம் ஏற்பட்டு அங்கத்தினர் ஹரிஜன மக்கள் தனி மனிதரும் உணவிற்கும் கஷ்டம் அடைந்திருக்கிறார்கள். அங்கே அவர்கள் தங்களுடைய வாழ்க்கையை நடத்த முடியாமல் பல இடங்களுக்கு சென்றுவிட்டார்கள். மேலும் பல மெம்பர்கள் ஸ்ரீவில்லிபுத்தூர் தாலுகாவைப்பற்றியும், அங்குள்ள விவசாய முறைகளைப் பற்றியும், மற்றும் சீர் திருத்தம் செய்யும் முறைகளைப் பற்றியும் ஹரிஜனங்கள் சரியான முறையில் கையாளப்படவில்லை என்றும் எடுத்துச் சொன்னார்கள். நான் தேர்தல் காலங்களில் சுற்றுப்பிரயாணம் செய்தபோது பலவாறாக என்விடம் குறைகளைக் கூறிவந்தார்கள். அவைகளை உங்களுடைய கவனத்திற்குக் கொண்டு வந்து தெரியப்படுத்துகிறேன்.

“இந்த தாலுகாவில் இன்னும் நெசவாளர்கள் ஏராளமாக இருக்கிறார்கள். Control நடந்த காலத்தில் நெசவாளர்களில் பலர் பணக்காரர்களாகவும், பலர் பணம் இல்லாத நிலைமக்கும் வந்துவிட்டார்கள். அங்கிருக்கும் நெசவாளர்களுக்கு 40-ம் நம்பர் நூலையும் இன்னும் அதற்குக் கீழ்ப்பட்ட நூல்களையும் கொடுத்து உதவினால் நெசவாளர்கள் அவைகளை வைத்துக்கொண்டு புடலை, வேஷ்டி முதலியவைகளை உற்பத்தி செய்து வாழ்க்கையை நல்லபடியாக நடத்துவார்கள் என்று கவர்ன்மெண்டிற்கு தெரிவித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“அங்கே Development சம்பந்தமாக மின்சாரம் பல இடங்களுக்கு கொண்டுபோகப்படுகிறது. வத்தராயிருப்பு பிரிக்காவில் ஒன்பது கிராமங்கள் இருக்கின்றன. அவைகளுக்கு நீர் பாசனத்திற்கு மின்சார சம்பந்தமான வசதி செய்து கொடுக்கப்படவில்லை. இதை சீக்கிரம் செய்து கொடுக்கும்படியாக கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“மீஸையடிவாரங்களிலுள்ள கிணறுகளில் 24 அடிக்கு கீழ்தான் தண்ணீர் ஊத்துக்கள் கிடைக்கின்றன. அவ்வளவு ஆழம் வெட்டி தண்ணீர் இரைக்க வேண்டியதாக இருக்கிறது. அதற்கு மின்சாரவசதி செய்து கொடுத்தால் உணவு உற்பத்தி செய்து கொடுக்கலாம். அதனால் உணவு பஞ்சத்தையும் தீர்க்க முடியும். உணவு உற்பத்தியையும் பெருக்கமுடியும். இப்பொழுது விவசாயம் சரியான முறையில் நடக்கவில்லை. அங்குள்ள விவசாயத்திற்கு வேண்டிய மின்சார சலுகை செய்து கொடுத்து விவசாய மக்களை ஆதரிக்கும்படியாக கவர்ன்மெண்டிற்கு தெரிவித்துக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“அடுத்தபடியாக அங்கே கிராமங்களில் சுமார் ஆயிரம் மாணவ மாணவிகள் படிக்கும்படியான நிலைமையில் இருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களுடைய பொருளாதார நிலைமை மிகவும் மோசமாக இருக்கிறது. அதனால் அவர்கள் கஷ்டப்படுகிறார்கள். அவர்களுக்கு வத்தராயிருப்பு பிரிக்காவில் ஒரு ஹாஸ்டல் போன வருஷம் வைக்கப்பட்டது. அதில் சென்ற ஆண்டில் 12 மாணவர்களுக்கு மான்யம் அளிக்கப்பட்டது. இந்த வருஷம் 14 மாணவர்களுக்கு மான்யம் அளிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. படிக்கக்கூடியவர்கள் ஆயிரக்கணக்கில் இருப்பதால் ஹாஸ்டலுக்கு சரியான முறையில் அதிகப் பூரக்கு மான்யம் அளித்து ஹரிஜன மக்களைக் காப்பாற்றவேண்டும். இவ்விதம் ஒரு ஹாஸ்டல் அமைத்து மற்ற backward Community-களின் மக்களையும் ஆதரிக்குமாறு கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

24th July 1952]

[Sri A. Vaikuntam]

“கவர்ன்மெண்டார் ஹோட்டல் திரப்பு ஆலயப்பிரவேசம் போன்ற சில திட்டங்களை ஹரிஜனங்களுக்குக் கொடுத்திருக்கிறார்கள். இந்த திட்டங்களை கிராமங்களுக்குக் கொடுத்திருப்பதால் Caste ஹிந்துக்களுக்கும், ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கும் சில விடங்களில் சண்டைகளும் பூசல்களும் நடந்துகொண்டிருக்கின்றன. அங்கு நடக்கும் சண்டைகளையும் பூசல்களையும் கவர்ன்மெண்டார் கவனித்து அங்கு சமாதானமாகவே அந்த திட்டங்களை நிறைவேற்றி வைக்கும்படியாக கவர்ன்மெண்டைக் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“சாதார முறையிலும் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு பல கிராமங்களில் தொந்தரவுகள் இழைக்கப்படுகின்றன. Caste ஹிந்துக்களுடைய தெருவுகளிலுள்ள சாக்கடைத் தண்ணீரை எடுத்து வாய்க்கால் வெட்டி ஹரிஜனங்களுடைய சேரிகளுக்கு திருப்பிவிடுகிறார்கள். அசுனல் அங்குள்ள சுகாதார நிலைமை மிகவும் வருந்தத்தக்கதாக இருக்கிறது. நான் சுற்றுப் பிரயாணம் செய்தபோது இதைப்பற்றி தெரிவித்தார்கள். அதைப் பற்றி பஞ்சாயத்து போர்டு President-க்கும் கலெக்டருக்கும் எழுதி தெரிவித்திருக்கிறேன். அதன் பேரில் உங்களுக்கு நீதி கிடைக்கும்படி முடிவு செய்கிறோம் என்று வாக்குறுதி கொடுத்திருக்கிறார்கள்.

“மதுவிலக்கு சம்பந்தமாக, மதுவிலக்கு வேண்டுமென்றும் அந்த சட்டம் இருக்கவேண்டும் என்றும் இந்த சபையின் விவாதத்துக்குக் கொண்டு வந்து போட்டு எடுத்து வந்தோம். இந்த மது விலக்கு வெற்றிகரமாக நடக்கவேண்டும். அதற்கு ஒவ்வொருவரும் ஒத்துழைக்க வேண்டுமென்று வேண்டிக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

* SRI T. SHANMUGHAM:—“Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, கணம் ராம சாமி நாடார் அவர்கள் கொண்டுவந்த cut motion-ஐ ஆதரித்து இரண்டொரு வார்த்தைகள் சொல்ல விரும்புகிறேன். டாக்டர் செளந்தரம் ராமச்சந்திரன் அவர்கள் சொன்ன விதமாக ஹரிஜன ஹாஸ்டல் என்று ஒரு ஹாஸ்டல் இருக்கவேண்டியதில்லை. ஹரிஜன் என்று பெயரே இருக்க வேண்டியதில்லை என்று வெகு நன்றாக சொன்னார்கள், என்னைக் கேட்டால் அந்தப் பெயரையே ஒழித்துவிடவேண்டும் என்று நான் சொல்லுவேன். ஹரிஜனம் என்று ஒரு கூட்டம் இருப்பதால்தான் அவர்கள் தாழ்த்தப்பட்டவர்கள் என்றும் ஒரு புரமாக ஒதுக்கப்பட்டவர்களென்றும் அவர்களை ஒதுக்கி இருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களையும் backward class-ல் சேர்த்து விடலாம். சேரி என்று ஒன்றும் அக்ஹாரம் என்று மற்றொன்றும் இருப்பது நன்றாக இல்லை. அது ஹிந்து சமூகத்திற்கே இழிவானதாகும். அவர்கள் தாழ்த்தப்பட்டவர்கள் என்று இருப்பது ஹிந்து சமூகத்திற்கே அமகு இல்லை என்று மறுபடியும் சொல்ல ஆசைப்படுகிறேன்.

“Harijan Welfare Office என்று ஒன்று இருக்கிறது. அந்த ஆபீசர் Secretary, ஆகவும், ஜில்லா கலெக்டர் தலைவராகவும், அந்த ஜில்லாவிலுள்ள M.L.A.-க்கள் கமிட்டி மெம்பர்களாகவும் இருந்து வேலை செய்யவேண்டும். இந்த Harijan Welfare Fund நன்றாக உபயோகப்படும்படியாக வேலை செய்யவில்லை. ஒரு கோடி ரூபாயில் பல லட்ச ரூபாய் செலவு செய்தும் சரியான வேலைகள் செய்யப்படவில்லை என்று தெரிகிறது. ஆகவே கொடுக்கும் ஒரு கோடி இரண்டு கோடி ரூபாயை நல்லவிதமாக அவர்களுக்குப் போய் சேரும்படியாக ஏற்பாடு செய்யவேண்டும்.

“இப்பொழுது சில பள்ளிக்கூடங்களில் லேபர் ஸ்கூல்களில் அவர்களுக்கு இடைவேளை சாப்பாடு போடுகிறார்கள். ஆனால் ஜில்லா போர்டு ஸ்கூல்களில் சாப்பாடுபோடுவது கிடையாது. ஆகவே ஹரிஜனப் பள்ளிக்கூடம் எந்த பள்ளிக்கூடமாக இருந்தாலும் அந்தப் பள்ளிக்கூடத்தில் இடைவேளை சாப்பாடு அதாவது midday meal கட்டாயமாகக் கொடுக்கவேண்டும்.

“அவர்களுக்கு கோயில்களையும் ஹோட்டல்களையும் திறந்து விட்டால் மட்டும் போதாது. கோயில்களுக்கு அவர்கள் போக வேண்டுமென்றால் கையில் காச வேண்டும். கையில் காச இல்லாவிட்டால் கடவுள் பார்க்க முடியாது. காப்பி கிளப்புக்கு போவதாக இருந்தாலும் கையில் காச வேண்டும். இந்த இரண்டு இடங்களுக்கும் அவர்கள் போக தகுதியற்றவர்கள். ஏன்? காச இல்லாமலிருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களை பொருளாதாரத்தில் முன்

[Sri T. Shanmugham]

[24th July 1952]

னேறும்படி செய்யவேண்டும். அவர்களிடம் பொருளாதாரம் இல்லாததால் தான் அவர்களை ஒத்திவைத்திருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களுடைய பொருளாதார முன்னேற்றத்திற்கு எவ்வளவு செய்யவேண்டுமோ அவ்வளவு செய்ய வேண்டும். அதேகம் காங்கிரஸ்காரர்கள் தியாகிகள் என்ற பெயரால் 5 ஏக்கர் 10 ஏக்கர் என்று நிலம் வாங்கிக்கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். அந்த நிலங்களை யெல்லாம் திரும்பவும் சர்க்கார் வாங்கிக்கொண்டு இந்த ஏழை ஹரிஜனங்களுக்குக் கொடுக்கவேண்டும். அதேக பணக்காரர்கள் நிலம் வாங்கி இருக்கிறார்கள். தியாகிகள் என்று சொல்லிக்கொண்டு தியாகத்திற்கு கூலியாக பெற்றுக்கொண்டார்கள். கூலி பெற்றுவிட்டால் தியாகம் ஆகாது. அதை நியாயமாக திருப்பிக் கொடுத்துவிட வேண்டும். அவ்விதம் கொடுத்து விடும்படி கூட கனம் ராஜாஜி உத்தரவு போட்டிருக்கிறார். அதேகப் பேர்கள் இன்னும் திருப்பிக் கொடுக்கவில்லை. கட்டாயம் அவர்கள் திருப்பிக் கொடுக்க வேண்டும். அதை ஹரிஜனங்களுக்குக் கொடுக்கவேண்டும். இந்த ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு ஜஸ்டிஸ் கட்சி ஆரம்ப நாளிலேயே . . .”

SRI G. GOVINDAN:—“கனம் சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்! கனம் மெம்பர் அவர்கள் காங்கிரஸ் தியாகிகள் கூலி பெற்றுக்கொண்டார்கள் என்று சொன்னார். அந்த வார்த்தையை தயவு செய்து வாபஸ் வாங்கிக்கொள்ளச் சொல்லவேண்டும் என்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

SRI T. SHANMUGHAM:—“5, 10 ஏக்கர் நிலம் கொடுத்தால் அது தியாகம் ஆகாது. கண்டிப்பாக சொல்லுவேன். எல்லோரும் ஒப்புக் கொள்ளவேண்டும் (loud applause) தியாகியாக இருக்க வேண்டுமென்றால் நிலம் வாங்கிக் கொள்ளக்கூடாது. ஆகவே தலைவர் அவர்களே முதலில் வாங்கிக் கொண்டவர்கள் வெற்றி பெற்றார்கள். பின்னால் உள்ளவர்களுக்கு நிலம் இல்லாமல் போய்விட்டது. இவர்களுக்கு மறுபடியும் நிலம் கொடுக்க ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் மறுத்துவிட்டார்கள். ஆகவே கட்டாயம் கொடுத்த நிலங்களை திருப்பி வாங்கிவிடவேண்டும்.”

“ஜஸ்டிஸ் கட்சி ஆரம்பமான நாள் முதற்கொண்டு T. M. நாயர் முதலிய தலைவர்கள் அவர்களுக்கு பஞ்சமர்க்கென்றும் பரயர்க்கென்றும் இருக்கும் கேவலமான வார்த்தையை நீக்கிவிட்டு ஆதித்திராவிடர்கள் என்று அழைத்தார்கள். பிறகு காந்தியார் அவர்கள் ஹரிஜன் என்ற பெயரை வைத்து அழைத்தார். இவர்கள் ஹிந்து மக்களோடு சிறந்து வாழ வேண்டும் என்று சொல்லி அவர்களுக்கு இப்படிப்பட்ட தாழ்மை நிலைமை வந்திருப்பது நியாயமில்லை என்று தெரிவித்தார். அதேபோல் இந்த ஹரிஜனங்களை இம்மாதிரியான பிற்பட்ட நிலைமையில் வைத்திருப்பது அமகல்ல என்பதை தெரிவித்துக்கொண்டு என்னுடைய வார்த்தையை இத்துடன் முடித்துக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

4 p.m. **SRI P. THIMMA REDDI:**—“Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we are living in a state of uncertainty and fear for our life and property in this State. I think, great men of this State and the country have focussed their attention to find out why this atmosphere is prevailing here. I must tell the hon. Members of this House that this fear complex is due to the fact that due and sincere attention has not been paid to the problem of the Harijans and the poor people in this State. If only in the past five years our national Governments—both here and in the Centre had paid due attention and made sincere efforts to solve their problems, there would not have been this somersault in the recent elections and there would not have been a place for the dangerous elements in this House. (Opposition Benches: No, no.) Flies there will be where there is filth, and where there is impure blood the body will be susceptible to epidemics. The most dangerous political propaganda and violent theories—which even the greatest of men

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cannot understand—have been preached in the villages, and the poor villagers have been misled by the dangerous elements that have now come into this House. That is why this atmosphere of fear has come to prevail in this State. That has been my humble experience.

“ Sir, in my constituency I have been trying for the last so many years to get ten acres of land assigned to ten Harijans who have been cultivating that land for the last 30 or 40 years. There are about 13,500 acres of Government land under the occupation of the poor and landless Harijans. But they have not been assigned to these Harijans. In this connection, I have approached the Collector, the Tahsildar, and the Revenue Inspector and other officials but it has not been possible for me to get the assignment done. This is how the Government are looking after the interests of the poor Harijans!

“ Sir, I now come to the wonderful Harijan Welfare Department. In my firka there is a village called Devarkonda. There are about 60 Harijans in this village, and they put up a school in a small house. For the last two years I have been trying to get a building constructed for the school but it has not been possible for me to do so owing to the indifferent and callous attitude of the wonderful Harijan Welfare Department. Sir, if this school had been under the control of the District Board instead of the Harijan Welfare Department, I would have built the school in two months' time.

“ Sir, I wish to refer to the plight of the Harijans so far as medical facilities are concerned. In this connection, I must refer to an incident that took place in my village. A Harijan was suffering from chronic fever and I admitted him in the District Headquarters Hospital at Chittoor with the promise that I would take him back to our village after some time. When I returned to my village, after 1½ months that Harijan's wife and children told me with tears in their eyes that he had to return home as proper medicine and food were not given to him. Who is responsible for the misery of that Harijan? The Government are responsible for it as they have not paid any attention to the welfare of the Harijans. Of course, I do not find fault with the present Government which is headed by a proper man who will lead this State from misery to one of prosperity, and the Harijans can expect better treatment hereafter. Unless their problem is tackled in an intelligent and fair manner, there is every danger to this State which may even envelop the entire Indian Union. The Harijan demand is not an ordinary demand. Their very existence is at stake. What do they want? They want that their sweat should not be exploited by others. They want living space. (At this stage Mr. Speaker occupied the Chair.) Why do you deny them that? It is not any landlord's property: it is not any individual's property; it is the property of the Government. They want huts to live in and lands to cultivate. I hope the Government will give top priority to the problem of the Harijans.

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"Now, I may be allowed to refer to the plight of the scavengers at Chittoor. They live in a place between Kattamanchi and Chittoor—where heaps of filth and manures are stored up, and their children play on these heaps. I ask, is this place fit for human beings to live in? Our Ministers have visited this place in connexion with the Rayalaseema famine. Even Central Ministers visited this place but so far no action has been taken to provide a decent place for them. The Health Officer and the Sanitary Engineer of the Chittoor Municipality have not taken any steps to improve their conditions of living. I hope the Government will look into the matter."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member's time is up."

* DR. P. VARADARAJULU NAIDU:—"கனம் சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே, ஹரிஜன முன்னேற்றத்திற்காகக் கொண்டு வரப்பட்டிருக்கும் இந்த மான்யத்தை ஆதரிக்கிறேன். தீண்டாமையை ஒழிப்பதுபற்றி ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு காங்கிரஸ் கவர்ண்மெண்டர் என்ன செய்தார்கள் என்பதைப்பற்றி பலர் பலவிதமான அபிப்பிராயங்களைத் தெரிவித்தார்கள். ஆனால், என்னுடைய கருத்தில், சென்ற 50 வருஷங்களாக நான் இதைக் கவனித்து வந்ததில் ஆச்சரியமான மாறுதல் ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிறது.

"தீண்டாமை, ஜாதவித்தியாசம் நம் நாட்டில் மட்டுந்தான் இருப்பதாக யாரும் நினைக்கக்கூடாது. ஜோரப்பா தேசத்திலும், ஆப்பிரிக்கா தேசத்திலும், அமெரிக்கா தேசத்திலும் நிற பேதம் இருக்கிறது. நமக்கும் அவர்களுக்கும் உள்ள வித்தியாசம் என்னவென்றால், இங்கு நாம் ஒரு இனமாக இருக்கிறோம். அதாவது நம்மில் ஒருவருக் கொருவர் வித்தியாசம் நிறத்தில்தான் இல்லை. இன்ன ஜாதியார் என்று நாம் சொல்லிக்கொண்டால் தான் வித்தியாசம் தெரிகிறதெயொழிய, பார்வையிலோ மற்ற எந்த விதத்திலோ வித்தியாசம் இல்லை. எப்படி இந்த தீண்டாமை வியாதி இந்த நாட்டில் ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிறது என்று சொல்வதற்கில்லை. அவரவர்கள் பழக்க வழக்கங்களின் காரணமாகவும், மனதை யொட்டியும், இந்தத் தீண்டாமை ஒரு வியாதியைப்போல் இந்த நாட்டில் ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிறது.

"நான் அறிந்தவரையில் மகாத்மா காந்தி காங்கிரஸ் தலைவராக ஆனதற்குப் பிறகு தான் நாங்களெல்லோரும் இந்தப் பிரச்சனையைப் புத்திசெலுத்த ஆரம்பித்தோம். அதற்குப் பிறகு எவ்வளவோ மாறுதல் ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிறது. இன்னும் மாறுதல் ஏற்படும். ஒரு அம்மையார் சொன்ன மாதிரி ஆதி திராவிடர்களுக்கு சரியான கூலிகொடுக்கப்பட்டால் அவர்கள் நன்றிக் இருப்பார்கள் என்பது வாஸ்தவம். ஆனால், இந்தப் பிரச்சனை அவர்களுடைய பொருளாதாரத்தை மட்டும் பொறுத்ததல்லபெய்ததென்றி மட்டும் வந்ததல்ல. இந்தப் பீடையைத் தொலைப்பதற்கு மனோ உறுதி வேண்டும். காங்கிரஸ் கவர்ண்மெண்டர் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு இதுவரையில் செய்துவந்தது குறைவு என்று சொல்லலாம், இன்னும் அதிகமாகச் செய்யவேண்டுமென்று கேட்கவேண்டும். கவர்ண்மெண்டர் இந்த முக்கியமான காரியத்திற்கு வேண்டிய பணத்தைச் செலவு செய்யலாம்.

"ஒரு விஷயத்தைச் சொல்ல விரும்புகிறேன். தீண்டாமை இருக்க வேண்டுமென்று ஒரு ஹிந்துவும் நினைக்கவில்லை. நினைக்கவும் முடியாது. பழக்க வழக்கம் காரணத்தால் இம்மாதிரியான நிலை இருந்துவந்திருக்கிறது. ஆகையால், ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கென்று தனிப்பட்ட பாடசாலை கூடாது; ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கென்று தனிப்பட்ட பள்ளிக்கூடங்களும் ஹாஸ்டல்களும் வைத்தார்களானால் இன்னும் தாழ்வு மனப்பான்மை (inferiority complex) ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு தொடர்ந்து வருமேயொழிய அவர்கள் மற்றெல்லா ஜாதியாருடன் தான்களும் ஒருவர் என்று நினைப்பதற்கே இடமேற்படாமல் போய்விடும். ஆகையால், தனிப்பட்ட பள்ளிக்கூடங்களோ ஹாஸ்டல்களோ இல்லாமல், அவர்களுக்கு ஸ்காலர்ஷிப், இலவச சாப்பாடு கொடுத்து, மற்றவர்களுடன் கலந்து இருக்கும்படிச் செய்யவேண்டும்.

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“இது விஷயமாக, சில வருஷங்களுக்கு முன்பு பிரிட்டிஷ் சர்க்கார் இருந்தபோது லார்டு செம்ஸ்போர்டும் நானும், டாக்டர் அம்பேத்கரும் பேசி, ஒரு கோடி ரூபாய் கவர்ன்மெண்டிலிருந்தும் கொடுத்து, ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு உயர்ந்த ஜாதியார் இருக்கும் இடங்களில் வீடு கட்டுவதற்குத் திட்டம் வகுத்தோம். பிறகு அது கைவிடப்பட்டுவிட்டது. ஆகையால், ஹரிஜனங்களுக்குத் தனியாக சேரிகளிலோ, தனியிட்ட இடங்களிலோ வீடுகள் கட்டுவது போல் அப்படிச் செய்யாமல், எங்கெங்கே உயர்ந்த ஜாதியார் இருக்கிறார்களோ, எங்கெங்கே காலி மக்கள் இருக்கின்றனவோ, அங்கெல்லாம் ஹரிஜனங்கள் வீடு கட்டிக்கொண்டு குடியிருக்கும்படிச் செய்தால், அவர்கள் மனதில் இருக்கக்கூடிய களங்கம் நாளாவட்டத்தில் தீர்ந்துவிடும். ஆகையால் எல்லோரும் ஒருமைப்பட்டு, வித்தியாசம் இல்லாமல் பார்க்கவேண்டுமே தவிர, நங்கள் (ஹரிஜன அங்கத்தினர்கள்) அவசரப்படக்கூடாது. கோபப்படக்கூடாது. தீண்டாமையியாதியைப் போக்குவதற்கு மன உறுதி வேண்டும். ஆகையால், சர்க்காரும் இன்னும் அதிகமான பணத்தை ஹரிஜன அபிவிருத்திக்குச் செலவழிக்கவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொண்டு, சர்க்கார் கோரியிருக்கும் மான்யத்தை ஆதரிக்கின்றேன்.

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—“Mr. Speaker, Sir, a good number of members have already spoken from both sides of this House. The substance of what has been said is the same. Those who are sitting on the Congress Benches as well as those who are sitting on the Opposition Benches have voiced forth the anguish of their hearts, that all that has been done so far for the upliftment of the Harijans has not been adequate. Not only that, we have not been able, after so many years of work, to wipe out this psychology of untouchability from this country. To those of us who belong to the non-Harijan class, it is a matter of great shame, that we have not been able to do that. We admit that we have failed. But at the same time, Sir, we must realise—and all the members belonging to the Harijan community will also realise—how stupendous the task is. Let me assure you, so far as the Opposition Benches are concerned, that the failure is not due to the want of will on the part of those who are sitting on this side. But Sir, the failure is only due to reasons which are practically beyond our control. Sir, this social difference between the Harijan and the non-Harijan, being a thing of ages, with all the efforts and all the goodwill that we have, it is not possible for us to attain to a state of oneness in this country. I am wondering, whether before all of us grow old, it would be possible for us to see in this country a society in which there is only one community, a society in which all differences between caste and sect will cease to exist. But, however, whatever may be the stupendousness of the task, it is the duty of the Government as well as of the Opposition, and of the public, to do whatever is possible in the direction of the upliftment of the Harijan and backward communities in the first instance, and next, leading to a fusion of all communities into one community which knows no differences whatsoever. It is true that as long as a certain section of people are called Harijans as long as there are Harijan hostels and non-Harijan hostels, as long as there are reservation for Harijans, etc., it is not possible to wipe out the difference between Harijan and non-Harijan. I agree it is not possible to wipe out the difference. But all the same, we are faced with a situation wherein a large

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section of our people are steeped in misery, in poverty and in utter practical helplessness, owing to certain social encrustments formed for centuries. I say Mahatma Gandhi was perfectly right in classifying all these communities under one term ' Harijans ', notwithstanding that it is a communal name and notwithstanding that it is communal in its content. However there will come a time when it will be possible for us to realise what Mahatma Gandhi visualised, when you, I, and everyone here, will see only one community and when we will see that no community is thriving on the misery of another particular community. So, Sir, Gandhiji did nothing wrong in separating the Harijan community for special treatment. I know there is a section of opinion growing stronger both in Congress and in non-Congress circles that these outward differences should be wiped out. Is it possible? I wish it were possible. But, as it is, if you have followed, Sir, as we have followed, the speeches, the Harijan members have made in this debate, you would have observed, as some critics had observed, that all of them in one voice had said that the Harijans as a community were not getting as much as they deserved in this Independent Sovereign Republic of ours! Therefore, it is time, without philosophising over all these matters that Government take all the measures which lie within their power to ameliorate their condition. When Mr. Prakasam was the Chief Minister, you may remember, Sir, he created a fund for Harijan Uplift and Village Reconstruction. He created a fund of Rs. 1 crore for the uplift of Harijans and set apart another two crores of rupees for village reconstruction, which in its turn, would also ameliorate the condition of the Harijans. This fund if it had been properly worked, would have in a great measure helped to improve the condition of the Harijans in all the districts in this State. But the object with which this fund was created was lost sight of later. When the fund was created, it was created with the view that it should be replenished from year to year. But there were political critics in those days who criticised it and said that it was a lump-sum grant which was against orthodox canons of finance, and that we should not have a lump-sum fund for Harijan uplift with the object of replenishing it every year. But the Government changed afterwards and the result was that the funds were not replenished; it had only been indented upon from time to time. Sir, if you look at page 157 of the Budget Memorandum, you will find that in 1949-50 there was reimbursement of Rs. 10 lakhs only to this fund. In 1950-51 the reimbursement was only three thousand rupees. And for the year 1951-52 (it is all preliminary accounts) there is shown a reimbursement of Rs. 31 lakhs. This fund was created to be spent on works for the benefit of the poorer classes and particularly the Harijans. Therefore, Sir, though we started well, although we expected that it will gather momentum as we went on and that the fund for the amelioration of the Harijan classes would increase, our hopes were blasted when the Government changed.

" Now, Sir, out of the total sum of Rs. 1,32,57,700, there is a sum of Rs. 72,61,000, which goes towards Establishment. The

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total Demand, although is put at Rs. 74,00,000, the real amount required is Rs. 1,32,57,700. Of this amount, Rs. 72,61,000 goes towards Establishment, Allowances and Charges. That includes Boarding grants and other things. Therefore what goes to the Harijan uplift is only Rs. 58 lakhs out of 132 lakhs odd. Then, again, Sir, out of this, there is a sum of Rs. 18,61,600 which goes for the backward classes. The friends of the backward classes who have already voiced forth their complaint on their behalf have said that the backward classes are more in number than the Harijan classes, and so, they have declared, 'why is it the Government are so miserly in regard to the allotment of grants for the backward classes'. Therefore, Sir, if we deduct this 18 lakhs odd, the net total amount which goes to the Harijan uplift is Rs. 40,60,100. There is no doubt that this amount goes towards scholarships, stipends, clothing, schooling charges, payment of examination fees, compensation to university, secondary and elementary schools, equipment, maintenance of hostels and boarding grants. Again, it is out of this amount, five lakhs of rupees is provided for construction of wells; and another five lakhs is provided for meeting half the cost of acquisition of house-sites.

"Sir, you will realise and hon. Members will realise what a stupendous problem it is to acquire house-sites for all the Harijans. There are 38,000 revenue villages and in every village, it is an undisputed proposition that the Harijans occupy the worst portion of the village. Therefore, Sir, even if we estimate that at least Rs. 5,000 will have to be spent in each village for acquiring house-sites for Harijans, it will cost Rs. 5,000 $\times$ 38,000, that is, Rupees 19,00,00,000. You will realise, Sir, what a stupendous figure it is; but, all the same, we have to do something for the acquisition of house-sites, because it is one of the most important problems in regard to Harijan uplift. 4-20 p.m.

"Sir, land comes next. You have heard from both sides of the House complaints of lands which were under the occupation of Harijans being taken away for some reason or other. Of course, several hon. Friends have concentrated on particular cases where Harijans occupying lands for some years have been deprived of their lands, so that certain political sufferers could get those lands. Sir, it is certainly a very sorry state of affairs! Cannot this Government do something? When Member after Member on both sides of the House, nearly fifty to sixty Members, mentioned this subject, it is time for the Government to appoint a Committee to enquire into the whole question. Sir, is it a fact that lands which have been under the occupation of Harijans for more than five, ten, twenty or even thirty years, have been taken away to be allotted to others—they may be rich persons, they may be political sufferers or they may have other lands—or, is it not a fact? I, therefore, suggest, Sir, that a committee should be appointed to go into this question with full authority to cancel any assignments which might have been made in contravention of the rights of the persons who have already been in occupation of the land. It is true, Sir, the Board of Revenue and the Government may

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come forward with the proposition that when assignments have been made they cannot be un-made. It might be said that in several cases the Harijans were in occupation of temporarily assigned lands under the Grow More Food Scheme or under other forms of ordinary temporary assignments and therefore there was nothing wrong on the part of the Government to deprive them of these lands and assign them permanently to others. This is all right as a legalistic argument but, when large numbers of people, particularly those who belong to the poorer section which is economically in a very hopeless condition, are affected, this kind of legalism must be put a stop to because we are now entering at this point into the sociological field from the purely legalistic field. Most of these affected people will be Harijans and there may be a few others also. I know also, Sir, that large investments were made in some cases by these persons in the hope that one day the temporary assignment will become permanent, just as some officers when they are appointed temporarily year after year, for instance in the Survey and some other departments, expect to be made permanent in due course. There is nothing wrong in their expectations. Therefore, Sir, if these Harijans, who originally cultivated the lands under temporary occupation or under a temporarily assigned *patta*, had invested some money on these lands, there is nothing wrong on their part, if they had an honest and innocent idea that one day or other they will get the lands permanently assigned to them as a matter of routine, for in this country land is meant for the tiller of the soil, for the man who tills it, produces food from it and enjoys it. It is in this hope that they have invested money on these lands and I see no valid reason why they should be deprived of these lands. When there are thousands of such cases, it is time for the Government to appoint an enquiry committee to go into the matter. Let them not wait for individual cases for there are so many individual cases in so many villages. We should change our existing policy and adopt a new policy to suit altered conditions.

“ Provision of house-sites for Harijans not only in villages but also in municipalities is a very important and urgent matter. Sir, I have had occasion to draw the attention of the House on former occasions also to this subject. The condition of the slums as also the housing accommodation of Harijans in municipalities is very, very bad. If the Government have got some money, I do not want them to fritter it away on schemes which are not remunerative. May I therefore suggest to the Government, Sir, that they should take a portion out of whatever remains of the Revenue Reserve Fund and lend, say, five or ten lakhs of rupees to each municipality for the improvement of slums. The municipalities will surely be prepared to pay them the 2½ per cent interest which the Government are now getting. I am not asking for charity from the Government. I am only saying ‘Please lend to the municipalities out of your securities.’ The Government will be getting their interest and at the same time the municipalities will be able to improve their slums. This will

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be one of the greatest benefits which the Harijans can get and there is no reason why the Government should plead financial stringency.

" Sir, some dissatisfaction was expressed with regard to boarding of Harijans pupils. One hon. Member went so far as to say that hostels run by private individuals should altogether be closed. I do not know whether this will be a feasible proposition. I only ask that the Government should conduct some enquiry into the matter. When so many Members, they are not non-Harijans but Harijans coming from districts who have got some experience, say that these hostels are not being run properly, it is then time for the Government to appoint a special committee for the purpose of finding out how the hostels are working and whether the private individuals and private managements are not able to do the work properly. If education is necessary for the Harijans, then hostels are also necessary for them, and I would even suggest that the Government should take over the management of these hostels if the private managements are not able to run them well.

" Sir, I then come to the greatest and the very urgent complaint regarding provision of wells. In many villages, even in the year 1952, it is impossible for Harijans to draw water from the same well as non-Harijans. The laws like the Removal of Civil Disabilities Act do exist; they have not been repealed, but I know they have become defunct. I am myself at a loss to devise ways and means. Due to our social customs the encrustment has become so thick that I do not know what is the kind of organization we have to establish or what kind of satyagraha campaign we should conduct to change the attitude of the non-Harijan class to this problem of drinking water, which is one of the greatest essentials for human beings to live. There are several suggestions. There are the great perennial rivers, and if it is possible to divert their waters through galvanised iron pipes to all the 38,000 revenue villages, none would be happier than myself. If we are able to get the pipelines, and if we are able to instal pumping sets on the Krishna and the Godavari, and have a network of pipelines to supply drinking water throughout the State, it will be a very happy thing. I do not know how far we can immediately attend to it. All the same the construction of wells is very important, and the provision of five lakhs of rupees for this purpose is absolutely inadequate.

" We were talking about the question of burning grounds and burial grounds for Harijans in 1945 and 1946. Even in 1937 the people were talking about it, and if we look into the old reports, we will find that the complaints are still the same. We have not been able to touch even the fringe of the problem. It is time therefore that all of us sit together time and again at informal conferences and find out ways and means of effecting a change in the minds of non-Harijans and the society as a whole. For all the wrongs that have been perpetrated upon the Harijans for so

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long, we must take upon ourselves the duty of devising ways and means not only to satisfy the Harijans but also to satisfy ourselves that we are doing something real. I would stress that all those who are interested will have to evolve a formula and the Government also will have to devise a machinery wherein all persons interested in Harijan uplift could take part more seriously than it has hitherto been the case.

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“ With regard to other points, I submit, Sir, I am not going into the details. Several instances have been cited by Members coming from the districts of Krishna, East Godavari and elsewhere, where rich people owning five hundred and eight hundred acres of land have been given lands, which had been previously under the occupation of the Harijans. As I said, I am not trying to inflict these instances on the Government. They do point out this fact that the lands belonging to Harijans have been taken away and given to other rich men. It is time, therefore, I submit once more, at the risk of repetition, that the Government appoint a Committee to enquire into all these cases.

“ I submit, Sir, that the provision that has been made under this Demand is very inadequate. If the Prakasam Ministry had continued, by now, we would have spent nearly six crores of rupees under this one head. Not only that, we would have replenished the fund year after year and possibly we might have found more funds for this particular item. Sir, in the building up of our society into a new society, in trying to fuse all the various castes, sub-castes and communities into one and achieving the ideal of a really Independent India—an India with one mind—nothing is more important than the amelioration of the conditions of the Harijans and Backward classes. I sorely feel that the provision made is totally inadequate and, therefore with all the earnestness I have at my command, I am suggesting to all the Harijan Members, whether on our Benches this side or on the Congress Benches that side to be very firm in their attitude. I may submit, that as long as Members simply give out their grievances but finally vote with the Government they will never be able to get a higher allotment. Even if I were on the Government side and if I had made an inadequate allotment, I would have certainly given freedom of vote to Members of my own Party to vote against me. There is no purpose in asking Members to be bound down by party whips in such matters like this. Let it not be said of Harijans and let it not be said even of others that they are voting against their own conviction. Let it not be said as was said by another friend in the House of Commons, ‘ I have always voted at my Party’s call. I have never thought of thinking for myself at all.’ ”

* THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO:—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have listened with great respect to the comprehensive debate which took place in this House for 8 hours with your permission. You, Sir, have been good enough to allot to me about half

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an hour for replying to the debate and, therefore, I shall try to deal with the main points that have been raised and the fundamental questions involved in this problem. I may not be able to deal with all the particular points raised in the course of the debate, for which I may be forgiven, but each of them will be noted and attended to.

"The Hon. the Leader of the Opposition who has just spoken I am glad to say, Sir, struck a note of great moderation and a note of sobriety at the end of the whole discussion. But at the end, Sir, when he came to the question of voting, he suggested that the Members on both sides should vote down this Grant. I very much welcome, however, the suggestion, that we all should join together, to whichever side we may belong—whether we are on this side or on the other side—in studying this problem, in exchanging views and in trying to evolve an assessment of the immediate needs as well as agreement on the fundamental policies and programmes. That, Sir, will be most welcome to the Government and to those who are sitting on this side of the House. I shall now deal with the main questions one by one.

"Firstly there has been much complaint about the allotment of house-sites and agricultural land for the Scheduled Castes. The Government are aware of the inadequacy of the provisions made to meet the requirements of the whole population. Reference has also been made to the inordinate delay in the grant of house-sites to landless labour even though they had deposited money years ago. This matter will be gone into and will be rectified as much as possible by the Government.

"With reference to the question of eviction—eviction by legal means as well as by *jabardast*—of Harijans and landless labour in certain places, Government will take note of them, and in accordance with the policy of the present Government I hope and trust that there will be less and less occasion for such complaints. The whole question of house-sites for Harijans in dry and upland districts will be considered specially. Deltaic areas present certain special difficulties in this respect, but here also, special attention will be paid to see how best the problem can be solved in a satisfactory manner. Reference has been made to the unfortunate eviction of Harijans for the purpose of assignment of lands to political sufferers and also to G.O. No. 1523, which has been condemned. In that connection, Sir, I may make a statement of the present position.

"*Sivoojama lands*.—Landless poor persons in unauthorized occupation of Government lands prior to 1st May 1948 should not be evicted if their occupation was otherwise free from objection, but would be assigned the lands under their occupation. If they were in occupation of more than 5 acres of wet land or 10 acres of dry land or if they had land of their own which, together with the Government land under their unauthorized occupation, exceeded these limits, they would be evicted from the extent in excess of

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these limits. Unauthorised occupants of Government lands not being landless poor who had spent a material amount of money and labour on reclamation or on improvement of the lands would be allowed to continue in occupation. Such lands would either be assigned to them or leased out to them for a period long enough to enable them to recover their investment provided that such occupation was otherwise free from objection.

“Representations were received to the effect that contrary to the orders issued by the Government, landless poor persons in occupation of lands either as sivoijamadars or G.M.F. lessees were being evicted and the lands assigned to political sufferers. Instructions have been issued that landless poor persons should not have been evicted and that these instructions should be carefully followed in future. As regards the cases in which orders had already issued provisionally assigning the lands under sivoijama or G.M.F. occupation by landless poor persons to political sufferers and if they are not in possession of the lands, the provisional assignments should be cancelled, and the political sufferers given some other suitable lands and if the political sufferers are in actual occupation now, the sivoijamadars should be given some other suitable lands.

“After the present Ministry took office, they have examined the land assignment policy and have effected radical and considerable changes in the same. Under the present policy, the order of priority is as follows:—

- (1) Landless poor persons including Harijans, and
- (2) Ex-servicemen including I.N.A. personnel and political sufferers.

It has been decided that no more applications for land grant should be entertained from political sufferers. Regarding the disposal of the pending applications, it has been decided that, if the grant of land to the political sufferer involves the dispossession of a landless poor person, ex-serviceman or Harijan, then the case of the political sufferer should be closed.

“I hope that this statement about the existing position will be considered satisfactory by the House.

“Attention has been drawn to the difficult conditions that obtain in the Tanjore district in particular. The hon. Lady Member Srimati Soundaram Ramachandran referred to this. This involves the fundamental problem of land tenancy and agrarian reforms. It is being considered by the Government, and the Hon. the Chief Minister and the Hon. the Revenue Minister particularly are paying special attention to this. I feel that this subject need not be dragged in the discussion of the Demand for Harijan Uplift which is mainly concerned with the education, health and the general improvement of the conditions of Harijans.

“I will pass on to the question of hostels. The Director of Harijan Welfare has already been instructed to submit proposals

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for an equitable distribution of hostels in various districts according to the local needs and the initiative from the local public. Hostels were started on the initiative of local philanthropic gentlemen. It was expected that they would succeed in getting some amount of public support, and the Government grants were determined on the basis of that assumption. Latterly it has been found that the expectation of donations from the public has not been sufficiently satisfactorily fulfilled. There is cause for some disappointment. Considerable dissatisfaction has been expressed about the actual running of the hostels. Some said that it was better that the hostels were managed entirely by Harijans. As a matter of fact, a large number of Harijan hostels are run by members of the Harijan community who have taken up the work voluntarily. A few of them are run by social workers who do not happen to belong to the Harijan community. I believe that the proper running of the hostels depends not so much on the community to which the manager belongs as on his capacity for administration. Very soon the Department will be making a report on the condition of these hostels. The question of reorganization of these hostels will be taken up by the Government. It has been suggested that all the existing 490 hostels should be scrapped and that the Government should immediately take up the responsibility for starting hostels at taluk headquarters and so on. I beg to submit that the time is not yet ripe from any point of view to scrap these hostels and substitute in their place entirely Government-run hostels. However the Government will consider the whole question and try to put these hostels on a satisfactory basis. Wherever public-spirited Harijans, men and women, come forward to start hostels, the Government welcome them and will give every facility and encouragement in the interests of those whom they want to serve. I hope that this statement about hostels will satisfy the House.

“About education, I need not add to what has already been said. It was pointed out that a huge amount under this head went towards establishment charges and that very little was available for the actual amelioration of the condition of Harijans. This may create in the minds of hon. Members the wrong impression that a good lot of money is spent on the staff of the Harijan Welfare Department. The expenditure incurred on the Headquarters and the District staff does not go beyond Rs. 6 lakhs or Rs. 7 lakhs. The rest of the establishment referred to is employed on the running of thousands of labour schools and various other institutions connected with the education of Harijan children. (Sri T. Viswanatham: ‘All the same, they are establishments.’) They are establishments which are part and parcel of the ameliorative programme in execution. Without establishment, no hostel, school or any other institution can be run. I am sure this explanation will dispel any wrong impression in the minds of Members that Rs. 70 lakhs or more are spent on the staff of the Department. Most of the establishment referred to is the establishment of the ameliorative institutions.

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“ An hon. Member from the Opposition side said that the money did not reach the actual person for whom it was intended. In my speech on the Demand, I emphasized the need for every one concerned with the movement to see that every pie spent reached the person for whom it was intended. Anything to the contrary will be taken note of and every wastage or leakage will be avoided to the best of our ability.

“ With regard to the provision of water supply, sanitation, cremation grounds and burial grounds, there is no complacency on the part of the Government. It is a problem which affects every Harijan *wada* in the whole State. There is considerable need for improvement and the Government will take note of this problem.

4-50
p.m.

“ The implementation of the Removal of Civil Disabilities Act, the Temple Entry Act, and other similar Acts, in the country is much better than before. That is all that we can say now. Let us all join together and work for a better day and a happier day in this respect. There is one great improvement in the country now. Members of the so-called Scheduled Castes and Tribes and Members of the Backward Classes have got their votes in their hands. They are conscious of their votes, and they know how to exercise their votes. They are represented by no less than 66 Members, or 100 Members if I include the Members representing the Backward Classes also. Quite a large section of this House is from these sections of the population. On this Demand, the debate has gone on for 8 hours. That itself is proof, if proof were necessary, or a guarantee, if guarantee were necessary, that this Harijan uplift movement and the movement for the uplift of the Backward Classes undertaken by the Government will go ahead and will not stop or go backward. I need not give further proof of the improved state of affairs in the country.

“ The hon. Member Mr. Vinayakam and some other hon. Members representing the Backward Classes made certain suggestions. They raised the question of securing seats in the colleges. The Hon. the Chief Minister has clarified the position. There is no need for any anxiety on that score. Regarding Harijan students joining the colleges, orders have been issued by the Government that *bona fide* Harijan students should not be expected to pay their fees in the first month as was asked of them in certain instances. Instructions have been issued that arrangements must be made to make some advance payment to the Harijan boys, who are scholarship holders, towards their caution money, hostel dues, or special fees. Instructions have been issued to see that proposals for new scholarships are expedited and that the proposals are finalized early enough for the students to get the benefit of the scholarships. In this manner, we try and we hope to meet the complaints against or defects in the working of the existing arrangements. (Interruption by the hon. Member Sri K. Vinayakam.) The amount allotted for the Backward Classes has not been

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considered sufficient. As I have already stated, the Government are in no mood of complacency about the provision made. But the necessities of the situation and the financial stringency have compelled the Government to make only a limited provision in this budget.

Reference has been made to the assignment of land to the wealthier classes of people and the upper classes of people in certain districts, for example, East Godavari and West Godavari (even after this Government came into power) in supersession of the claims of Harijans. The Government will go into this question. I am not in full possession of the facts, and I dare say that our Hon. the Chief Minister will go into all these matters.

"Sir, we have now practically come to the point of exhausting the Harijan Special Fund. The present budget is evidence of the Government's intention to continue to make provision for this Harijan Uplift Department. I have already stated that the amount provided is not quite satisfactory even according to us. But on account of the financial stringency in which we are placed, and on account of the demands of famine measures in various parts of this State, it was not possible to make any increased provision. Some hon. Members suggested that the whole work of the Harijan Uplift Department was *daga*, a fraud, a *botakam*, a falsehood, etc., and that nothing had been done under the provisions of the Constitution. They said that Articles 17, 330, 332, 334, 338, and 340 in the Constitution were nothing, and that they were all a dead letter. I hope and trust that the vast majority of Members representing Harijans and Backward Classes will not subscribe to this view. (Interruption.) Sir, it is not for me or for the Members of the Government to say that. Every one of them knows about the life of Mahatma Gandhi, who gave us freedom. One thing alone will be remembered of him, and it is this. He was the man who dedicated his whole life for the liberation of the oppressed people of India, namely, the Harijans. That will go down in history. This Government is only a poor instrument engaged in the achievement of that policy. I hope hon. Members of the House will not say that it is all *daga*. I hope they will at least concede that there is honesty of purpose on this side and on that side. I am sure most Members agree on this, and I am perfectly confident that they will agree. In that spirit, let us continue to work together and try to improve the state of affairs."

SRI K. VINAYAKAM:—"Article 340 of the Constitution has not been referred to."

* THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO:—"It is in the discretion of the President of the Indian Union to appoint a Commission. I am sure that he knows the situation in India, and he will take the initiative in the matter. There is no need for anxiety on that score. With these words, Sir, I commend this Demand for the acceptance of this House. I thank hon. Members for the indulgence they showed me, and I am thankful to you, Mr. Speaker, for the kindness you have shown me in allowing me this time to reply to the debate."

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SRI C. V. K. RAO:—"Sir, on a point of information."

MR. SPEAKER:—"No point of information will be allowed. I am going to put the cut motion straightaway to the vote of the House."

• THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO:—"Sir, I am finally appealing to the hon. Member who moved the cut motion to withdraw his cut motion so that we may have a unanimous vote on this Demand in consonance with the spirit in which we have to approach the problem."

5 p.m. SRI V. V. RAMASAMI:—"I press my cut motion, Sir."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I am going to put the cut motion to the vote of the House. The question is—

'That the allotment of Rs. 74,00,000 for Harijan Uplift be reduced by Rs. 100.'

The motion was declared lost.

Sri A. Rathinam demanded a poll and a poll was taken.

While counting of Members in the IX Block was going on, the Hon. Speaker noticed some hon. Members asking some other hon. Members to stand."

MR. SPEAKER:—"No hon. Member should ask another hon. Member to sit or to stand."

The House divided thus:—

• *Ayes.*

Sri M. Venkatasubba Reddi.

" S. C. C. Anthony Pillai.

" S. Pakkiriswami Pillai.

" K. Venkatakurmi Naidu.

" M. Bapiiah Chowdary.

" M. Kalyanasundaram.

" K. T. Raju.

" K. P. Gopalan.

" G. Suryanarayana.

" V. Balakrishnan.

" M. Lakshmanaswamy.

" B. Sankarayya.

" N. K. Palaniwami.

" G. Bapanayya.

" G. Yallamanda Reddi.

" P. K. Gopalakrishnan.

" K. C. Gopalan Unni.

" P. Jeevanandam.

" C. Kandaswami.

" S. Vadivelu.

" V. Madanagopal.

" S. Ramalingam.

" N. Sivaraj.

" A. K. Subbiah.

" K. V. Ramaswamy.

" T. S. Ardhanari.

" P. Venkatesha Sholagar.

" M. Hanumantha Rao.

" C. V. K. Rao.

" K. Rajagopala Rao.

" P. Venkatasiviah.

Sri P. Rama Rao.

" V. Rama Rao.

" T. Potha Raju.

" P. S. Ramachandra Rao.

" K. Malakondayya.

" M. Narayanaswamy.

" K. Venkiah.

" P. Syamasundara Rao.

" B. Lakshminarasa Raju.

" G. Satyanarayana.

" G. Anjaneyalu.

" K. Vinayakam.

" S. Swayamprakasam.

" V. V. Ramasami.

" A. Senapathi Gounder.

" Mookiah Thevar.

" E. L. Raghava Mudaliar.

" P. Narasimha Reddi.

" N. Sivarami Reddi.

" D. Seetharamiah.

" C. H. Kanaran.

" K. Madhavan Nambiar.

" R. Krishnan.

" E. T. Kunhan.

" V. Sri Krishna.

" G. Joseph.

" D. Lakshmayya.

" M. Kune Rao.

" G. Nageshwara Rao.

" Alluri Venkataramaraju.

" K. Ranga Rao.

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Ayes—cont.

Sri K. Subba Reddi.
 " Chandra Ramalingayya.
 " G. Rama Rao.
 " K. Govinda Rao.
 " M. Veerabhadran.
 " M. Palaniandi.
 " K. Krishna Rao.
 " P. Rangaswamy Reddijar.
 " T. Shanmugham.
 " A. Veloo.
 " M. P. Subramaniam.
 " M. Mottaya Kudumban.
 " Vavilala Gopalakrishniah.
 " D. Krishnamurthy Gounder.
 " N. Paramasivam.
 " Lakshmi Narayana Reddi.
 " D. K. Raja.
 " P. Kandaswamy Gounder.
 " G. C. Kondayya.
 " M. Manicka Sundaram.
 " T. Nagi Reddi.
 " Pillalamarri Venkateswarlu.
 " S. T. Adityan.
 " Y. Audinarayana Reddi.
 " Bojja Appalasamy.
 " A. Rathinam.
 " D. Dasarathan.
 " S. Vemiah.
 " K. Srinivasulu.
 " N. V. L. Narasimha Rao.
 " K. Gajapathi Reddi.
 " T. Viswanatham.
 " P. Ramamurthy.

Sri P. B. K. Raja Chidambaram.
 " T. C. Narayana Nambiar.
 " K. R. Viswanathan.
 " A. Govindasamy Nayakar.
 " K. Aranganathan.
 " M. Jagannathan.
 " M. Palanimuthu.
 " A. Ayyaru.
 " S. P. Thangavelu.
 " V. T. Elaya Pillai.
 " K. R. Sambandam.
 " S. Kasi Reddy.
 " P. Chokkalingam.
 " K. Ramiah Chowdry.
 " S. S. Kolkebail.
 " Y. V. Krishna Rao.
 " P. Suryachandra Rao.
 " C. Subbarayudu.
 " P. Kunhirama Kidav.
 " B. Ramakrishna Reddi.
 " K. Bapanna Dora.
 " K. Ramiah.
 " C. Pulla Reddi.
 " S. Kandaswamy Gounder.
 " Kattimuthu.
 " S. Radakrishnan.
 " A. Muthuswamy.
 " V. Sankaranarayana Menon.
 " K. T. Sridharan.
 " M. Narayana Kurup.
 " M. Narayana Nambiar.
 " O. Koran.
 " C. Kunhirama Kurup.

Noes.

The Hon. Sri C. Subramaniam.
 " A. B. Shetty.
 " M. A. Manickavelu Naicker.

Sri K. Rajaram.
 " B. Bakthavatsalu Naidu.
 " P. G. Karuthiruman.
 " B. K. Nallasamy.
 " P. S. Nalla Gounder.
 " P. G. Manickam.
 " N. Mahalingam.

The Hon. Sri K. P. Kuttikrishnan Nayar.
 " Dr. R. Nagan Gouda.

Sri N. Ramakrishna Ayyar.
 " K. Koti Reddi.
 " A. M. Sambandam.
 " M. R. Ramachandran.
 " O. Venkatasubba Reddi.
 " B. Parameswaran.
 " V. K. Ramasamy Mudaliar.
 " S. Panchaksharam.
 " A. J. Arunachalam.
 " A. K. Mesilamani Chettiar.
 " A. Ramachandra Reddijar.
 " P. K. Thirumurthi.
 " N. Mounaguruswami Naidu.
 " P. S. Rangaswamy Naidu.
 " S. R. Arumugham.
 " K. H. Bomman.
 " Kempai Gounder.
 " T. M. Kaliannan.
 " M. P. Periaswami.
 " Arthanareeswara Gounder.
 " A. Sambasivam.

Sri Lakshmana Kandar.
 Dr. P. Varadarajulu Naidu.
 Sri R. Thangavelu.
 " M. Kandasamy Padayachi.
 " L. Anandan.
 " V. Krishnaswami Padayachi.
 " G. Vagheesam Pillay.
 " A. S. Sahajanandam.
 " O. A. Nanjappa.
 " P. M. Munuswamy Gounder.
 " S. Arumugham.
 " K. S. Subramania Gounder.
 " A. M. Ratnaswami.
 " M. Marimuthu.
 Janab Mohamed Salih Maraikayar.
 The Hon. Sri V. C. Palaniswami Gounder.

5-10
p.m.

The Hon. Sri K. Venkataswami Naidu.
 " N. Sankara Reddi.
 " D. Sanjivayya.
 " Shanmuga Rajeswara
 Sethupathi (the Raja of Ramnad).
 The Hon. Sri S. B. P. Pattabhi Rama
 Rao.
 Dr. T. S. Soundaram Ramachandran.
 Srimathi T. Kotamma Reddi.
 Sri M. S. Muniswamy Pillay.
 " C. Chinnaaswami Naidu.
 " S. Chinna Karuppa Thevar.
 " V. S. Sivaprakasam.
 " A. Ayyanar.
 " V. Muthu.
 " A. S. Subbaraj.
 " Thinakaranaswami Thevar.

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Noes—cont.

Sri R. Krishnaswami Nayudu.
 „ S. Jayaram Reddiar.
 „ R. V. Swaminathan.
 „ I. K. Subramania Pillai.
 „ K. T. Kosalram,
 „ P. Urkavalan.
 „ M. G. Shanker.
 „ Venugopalakrishna wamy.
 „ S. Somayajulu.
 „ Chinnathambi Thever.
 „ P. Selvaraj.
 „ R. S. Arumugam.
 „ Vaikuntam.
 „ G. Govindan.
 „ P. S. Krishnaswamy Ayyangar.
 „ Ar. A. Rm. Chokalingam Chettiar.
 „ P. Chellathurai.
 „ N. Rajagopal.
 „ R. M. Palaniappan.
 „ A. Ramasamy Thevar.
 „ T. K. Rama.
 „ T. V. Sannasi.
 „ Anthony Peter.
 „ T. R. Varadan.
 „ C. Muthiah Pillai.
 „ Thiagaraja Pillay.
 „ S. Venkatarama Ayyar.
 „ A. Rami Reddi.
 „ N. Chenchurama Naidu.
 „ Dasaratharamiah Naidu.
 „ P. Gopalakrishna Reddi.
 „ K. Shanmugam.
 „ P. Venkataswamy Reddi.
 „ Muthukumarasamy.
 „ S. R. V. P. Murthy Raju.
 „ Thota Ramasamy.
 „ P. Satyanarayana Reddi.
 „ V. Durgaprasad Veerabhadra Deo Bahadur.
 „ P. Gunnaaya.
 „ L. Lakshmana Das.
 „ K. Suryanarayana.
 „ H. Satyanarayana Dora.
 „ P. Sangam Naidu.

Sr Raja Sagi Suryanarayana Raju.
 „ T. C. Atchannaidu.
 „ B. Krishnamurthy Rao.
 „ A. Balarama Reddi.
 „ D. Ramabrahmam.
 „ K. Adikesavalu Naidu.
 „ M. Doraikannu.
 „ H. Ramalinga Reddi.
 „ G. Nagabhushanam.
 „ Ijari Sirasappa.
 „ P. Thimma Reddi.
 „ G. Latchanna.
 „ M. Muni Reddi.
 „ K. Appala Naidu.
 „ P. Bapu Naidu.
 „ B. Gangaya Naidu.
 „ P. Venkatasubbayya.
 „ K. V. Vema Reddi.
 „ S. Narayanappa.
 „ K. Santappa.
 „ A. Appu.
 „ T. Mallayya.
 „ T. Anantha Pai.
 „ Y. Manjaya Shetty.
 „ K. Venkataramana Gowda.
 „ K. Ishwara.
 „ N. N. Suvarna.
 „ L. C. Pais.
 „ E. K. Sankara Varma Raja.
 „ B. Vaikunta Baliga.
 „ K. V. Ramesam.
 „ M. Srungaram.
 „ K. Venkatanarayana Dora.
 „ K. Veeranna Padal.
 „ Somasundara Goundar.
 „ M. Gangappa.
 „ V. Dharmalinga Nayakar.
 „ N. C. Ramasamy Kandar.
 „ O. Chengam Pillai.
 „ V. Chidanandam.
 Janab K. Uppli.
 „ C. Ahmed Kutty.
 „ K. M. Seethi.

Neutral.

Sri M. Rajeswara Rao.

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—“Sir, the hon. Member Sri K. V. Ramesam in Block VII says that he supports the cut motion. When the Hon. Speaker asked those who were for the cut motion to stand, he stood. But the other one, ‘Those who are against the cut motion’ came up so quickly that the hon. Member’s vote was not recorded correctly.”

MR. SPEAKER:—“Nobody can say that I put the second question too quickly.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—“May I say that the hon. Member has got a right to correct the mistake?”

MR. SPEAKER:—“Let the votes be first counted. I will come to the point raised by the Leader of the Opposition afterwards. Till the results are announced, let not any hon. Member leave his seat.”

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Then the votes were counted.

MR. SPEAKER:—"I shall now announce the results:

Ayes 128, Noes 149 *, Neutral 1.

The cut motion was lost.

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Leader of the Opposition raised a point of order that the hon. Member Sri Ramesam had made a mistake in voting. I am going to follow the practice obtaining in the House of Commons in this matter. If a Member goes into the wrong lobby, through inadvertence, it is the rule in the Commons, in opposition to the practice of the Lords, to hold the Member bound by the vote he has actually given. That is my ruling." 5-20
p.m.

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"I am not going to question your ruling or do any such thing, Sir. I only wish to submit that you will find that a Member who has by inadvertence gone into the wrong lobby has got a right to go and tell the Speaker and correct the vote."

MR. SPEAKER:—"According to the parliamentary practice, I have quoted, he is bound by the vote that he has given.

"I am now going to put the original motion to the vote of the House. The question is—

'That the Government be granted a sum not exceeding Rs. 74,00,000 under Demand XXIII—Harijan Uplift.'"

The Demand was carried and the Grant was made.

(2) DEMAND XXVIII—ELECTRICITY.

* THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor, I move—

'That the Government be granted a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,18,35,000 under Demand XXVIII—Electricity.'

"This Demand is for a grant from current revenues to meet working expenses of Electricity Schemes in operation. The working expenses include expenditure on smaller works financed from ordinary revenues, expenditure on maintenance, provision for depreciation and the cost of establishments. Against Rs. 3.18 crores required for these working expenses, the gross revenue expected to be earned by the Electricity Department is Rs. 5.09 crores.

"The bulk of the demand under Electricity, however, comes under Demand XXXVIII relating to the Capital Outlay on Electricity Schemes. The Demand for Capital Outlay on Electricity Schemes this year amounts to Rs. 8 crores, the revised estimate under the same head for 1951-52 having been Rs. 7.25